The Shakespearean comic and tragicomic

French inflections

RICHARD HILLMAN

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Cahiers Élisabéthains, 99:1 (2019) (for Chapter 5). I am grateful for the possibility of re-using this material. In addition, a section of Chapter 5 overlaps with an essay appearing in Lars Engle, Patrick Gray and William M. Hamlin (eds), *Shakespeare and Montaigne* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

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Textual notes

Except where otherwise indicated, Shakespeare is cited from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd edn, gen. eds G. Blakemore Evans, J. J. M. Tobin *et al.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), using the standard abbreviations of plays in references. My biblical text of reference is *The Bible and Holy Scriptvres, etc.* (Geneva, 1562); STC 2095. STC numbers refer to *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, first compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, 2nd edn revised and enlarged, begun by W. A. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by Katharine F. Pantzer, 2 vols (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1986).

Citations from older texts preserve original spelling but with contractions expanded. Unattributed translations are my own.

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1

Theory, practice and genre: making room for France

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This succinct introduction will sketch out a model for the explorations pursued in the following chapters and put in play some of the issues entailed, which are admittedly tangled ones. First, however, the subtitle of the book seems to call for an explanation. While the notion of 'reflections', as I applied it in a previous monograph,[1] serves, I think, as a productive metaphor for exploring the engagement of several Shakespearean tragedies with French material of diverse kinds, in shifting the ground to comedy and tragicomedy a methodological reorientation seems in order. This is because, while a case can be made for the French origins of certain aspects of English tragedy – especially its political directions – the dominant generic models are now, in the main, of Italian origin. These include the *commedia erudita*, derived from Plautus and Terence, the *commedia grave*, 'enriching the narrative output of *commedia erudita* with the addition of more solemn and complex elements',[2] and the popular *commedia dell' arte*.[3] An equally important part of the picture is the non-dramatic forms. Most influential among the latter is the pastoral romance, as introduced notably by Jacobo Sannazaro (*Arcadia*, pub. 1504) and imitated by Jorge de Montemayor (*Diana*, 1559) and numerous others throughout Europe – prominently including, of course, Philip Sidney, Robert Greene and Thomas Lodge in English.

Much stimulating study has been undertaken, especially in recent years, of Shakespeare's Italian connection, with the salutary result of filling in an important element of cultural background and establishing at least some specific influences. I have found the work of Louise George Clubb and Michele Marrapodi especially instructive.[4] The most significant site of such generic impact on Shakespeare's work is undoubtedly the comedies of the 1590s and the first years of the next decade. With regard to the late plays, I believe that some of the more comprehensive claims for Italian origins need to be qualified, as I will be suggesting in Chapter 5. There remain, moreover, many uncertainties about the possible channels of textual transmission. Indeed, the

question of Shakespeare's command of Italian has not been settled beyond all doubt for all interested parties. What I judge to be his demonstrable mastery of French, which I would like to think has broadly been established,[5] would tend to suggest that, for Italian too, he should be given the benefit of the doubt. In any case, linguistic, like national, frontiers have long been treated as porous when it comes to the transmission of romance elements generally.

The recognised influences on the comedies and tragicomedies are hardly, of course, confined to Italian precedents. As criticism has abundantly shown, further models, which are neither Italian nor French – at least in origin – also make their presence felt within Shakespeare's practice. My subsequent chapters will naturally attempt to take account of these as occasions arise. There is, notably, the vast (and much-explored) category of classical influences, whether in the original or in English translation. These range from Roman comedy (with Greek New Comedy looming behind it) to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and (less definitely) beyond. In the case at least of *The Comedy of Errors*, Plautus has obviously been drawn on directly, while the debt to Arthur Golding's *Metamorphoses*, if not necessarily its original, is manifold and well documented. Not that French mediation is necessarily to be excluded even from this part of the picture: indeed, from this perspective, I will be proposing a telling twist to one well-known use of Ovid (in Chapter 5), as well as (in Chapter 2) a substantial extension of the standard range of classical references to include, by way of a French intermediary, Catullus.

A further – and overlapping – influence, especially for Shakespearean tragicomedy, stems from the Hellenistic prose romances of late antiquity, several of which were translated and imitated. This dimension, too, has received much critical attention, though usually, again, without reference to French derivatives.[6] There is overlap, as well, with the rich heritage of popular English romance, including the 'mongrel tragi-comedy' famously (if futilely) condemned by Philip Sidney.[7] To complicate the picture further, some such texts themselves serve as vectors of Continental or classical elements; some, indeed, show roots that reach back to early pan-European paradigms, the latter informed, at varying degrees of remove, by religious motives and schemas.

An especially rich and well-balanced account of these interlocking influences was provided in 1974 by Leo Salingar in *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy*.[8] Salingar's work has certainly been supplemented, and its critical premises called in question,[9] but it has arguably never been superseded for either its scope or its detail. Only the antique novel arguably gets short shrift, in keeping with a relative neglect of the late plays generally.[10] Otherwise, the readings proposed in the following chapters presuppose the composite background described by Salingar, who devotes substantial chapters to the

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classical and Italian currents of influence.[11] And especially notable from my point of view is his evidence for the relevance to English drama of 'medieval stage romances',[12] which include French material drawn from, among other sources, the remarkably free-wheeling *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages* performed in Paris in the fourteenth century.[13] It is important to recognise, as an enabling principle of the present study, the potential for circulation of dramatic, and dramatisable, material across national and linguistic frontiers, even if documentable cases of borrowing or transmission are relatively few.

Let me now sum up the implications of such a diffuse and varied background for the pointed interventions to follow. Given that English comic tradition presents such multiple – often mutual and elusive – reflections, the very concept of reflection loses its value as a practical critical instrument. Instead, it appears more useful, because finally more precise, to attempt to locate specific instances in which the primary models acknowledged by critical consensus are perceptibly *inflected* by French supplementary or intermediary texts. The underlying intertextual principle is familiar, namely that the receptive experience of a readership (and why not an audience?) may be diverted, repositioned and generally destabilised by a perception of anomaly against the background of established norms – that is, by 'agrammaticalité' (ungrammaticality), in Michael Riffaterre's terminology.[14] The norms in question may involve conventions of all kinds – from the linguistic to the generic and the cultural in the broadest sense. I especially hope to demonstrate that certain hitherto neglected or discounted French intertexts are susceptible to have obtruded on familiar comic and tragicomic patterns, complicating the generation of meaning and sometimes producing ambiguous, even contrary, significance.

It may be helpful to propose a concise methodological example, one that proliferates ambiguities of an unusually multi-directional kind. (I will present the basic case in succinct form because I have developed it at length elsewhere, albeit from a different point of view.[15]) At stake, exceptionally, is a French intertext that has been widely recognised as such, but not necessarily – this is the point – as setting in motion an interpretative dynamic. The issue bears on the problematic relation between one of Shakespeare's most obviously 'Italian' comedies, *The Taming of the Shrew*, first printed in the 1623 First Folio, and its usually unattributed analogue, first published in quarto in 1594, *The Taming of a Shrew*, which very closely resembles it, both in its broad trajectory and in numerous specific parallels. The resemblance extends to Italianate comic situations and interaction, as well as a preponderance of Italian (or near-Italian) names, despite the anonymous play's nominal setting

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in Athens. Not far in the background, as is generally agreed, lies Ludovico Ariosto's *I Suppositi*, which had been translated (as *Supposes*) by George Gascoigne in 1566, and it is not uncommon to treat Shakespeare's version at least implicitly as what Carole Levin and John Watkins term it explicitly: an 'English adaptation of Ariosto'.[16] These critics' substantial analysis of that adaptation, in emphasising the particular 'self-consciousness about the divergences between English and Italian cultures' evident in 'Shakespeare's earliest use of an Italian source',[17] reflects and reinforces the widespread binary thinking about a number of Shakespearean comedies as essentially English variations on Italian themes.

The French 'inflection' in this case enters the picture by way of the culminating speech of the 'shrew' of the anonymous play (likewise 'Kate', although we have 'Ferando' instead of 'Petruchio'), in which she lectures, like Shakespeare's heroine, on a wife's duty of submission. In essence, the first ten lines of this twenty-line monologue are unmistakably (if selectively) translated from the majestic account of the divine ordering of the universe, and of time itself, presented in the first book of *La Sepmaine ou création du monde* by Guillaume de Salluste, seigneur Du Bartas (first pub. 1578). (Du Bartas was a poet enormously popular in England, as is well known, in large part because of his militant Protestantism.[18]) I was hardly the first to stumble on this borrowing: the editor of *A Shrew* for the New Cambridge Shakespeare, Stephen Roy Miller, who (unpersuasively, in my view) embraces the hypothesis that the text represents an acting version derived from Shakespeare's original, sets out the history of the discovery and the details of the intertextual obtrusion.[19] What he does not do, however, is consider the potential significance for readers or audiences familiar with both plays of such a sharp shifting of the cultural framework, the generic grammar and the ideological terms of reference at the culminating moment.

The borrowing from Du Bartas for the first part of Kate's monologue implicitly lends the second part equal authority as a pious expression of the divine order and plan. That authority is claimed, however, on behalf of a more problematic cause. For now woman is crassly presented, according to the traditional misogynist narrative, as a secondary and inferior product of the Creation, then blamed outright for the origin of sin:

> Then to his image he did make a man,
> Olde *Adam*, and from his side asleepe,
> A rib was taken, of which the Lord did make
> The woe of man so termd by *Adam* then,
> Woman, for that, by her came sinne to us,
> And for her sin was *Adam* doomd to die.[20]

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This represents a notable swerving from Du Bartas, both textually and in content, and the manoeuvre cannot have been innocent.

Indeed, that the introductory passage imported from the French poet is not casual filler, deployed without regard to the ideological stakes, is confirmed by two telling omissions. First, the adapter suppresses a middle section presenting chaos, under the influence of Neoplatonic tradition, as a precursor of the divine creation. This was a theologically controversial point, as is shown by contemporary attacks on Du Bartas, which elicited a defensive commentary by the Calvinist Simon Goulart.[21] Secondly – with evident deliberation – the author pre-empts the actual account of God's creation of woman as found in its due place in the sixth book of Du Bartas's poem. There, far from denigrating or blaming woman, the poet presents her as a blessing for mankind, correcting the natural savagery of man by supplying those qualities without which he would live 'Privé de cœur, d'esprit, d'amour, de sentiment'(Deprived of heart, of mind, of love, of sentiment).[22] The taking of the rib serves to stigmatise, not Eve, but Adam, on whom God performs curative surgery.[23] Contrary to embodying the 'woe of man', she joins with him to form the '[s]ource de tout bon heur, amoureux Androgyne' (source of all happiness, the loving Androgyne).[24] From an intertextual point of view, then, the anonymous play is shown to 'protest too much' when it insists on an unambiguous resolution and cleaves to a straightforward misogynistic – coded as comic – trajectory.

The picture is not nearly so categorical in *The Shrew*. The far better known analogous declaration of Shakespeare's Katerina has been widely recognised as the key to reading a more problematic 'taming', and it has been interpreted in a number of ways – among others, ironically. Such a response is made possible, if not encouraged, by the fact that a wife's obligation is here justified in strictly human and secular terms: the gratitude owed for a man's loving care, coupled with a quasi-feudal obligation ('such duty as the subject owes the prince' (*Shr.*, V.ii.155)) extending to men's rightful power to punish a 'foul contending rebel' (159). The combined sanction of divinity and the natural order is absent – and it becomes conspicuously so in light of the intertexts, both *A Shrew* itself and the fragment of the French epic of creation embedded within it.

This point resonates with complementary suggestions within Shakespeare's text that Petruchio usurps divine prerogatives in the course of imposing himself on Katerina. He presents himself, in effect, as (re)creating the universe in which she must henceforth dwell – and herself with it. It is a world in which time – the quintessential expression of the divine power, according to Du Bartas – is subjected to his command ('It shall be what a' clock I say it is' (IV. iii.195)) and the sun and the moon change places according to his human

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word, not God's Word; so much is confirmed by the quasi-biblical cadences of Katerina's acceptance:

> Then God be blest, it is the blessed sun,
> But sun it is not, when you say it is not;
> And the moon changes even as your mind.
> What you will have it nam'd, even that it is,
> And so it shall be so for Katherine.
>
> (IV.v.18–22)

From this point of view, far from enacting the divine order, Petruchio forcibly substitutes the patriarchal one, whose mission he assumes. And Katherina's shrewishness, evoking a specifically feminine 'chaos' potentially creative in itself, must be coded as destructive because it poses a threat to that order.

Two explanations, implying contrasting intertextual effects, seem possible for the disjunctive parallel between the two plays. If what is indubitably Shakespeare's comedy constitutes the revision of a precursor, then his pointed suppression of the divine justification for female subordination would foreground Petruchio's usurpation of divine prerogative, virtually as a form of blasphemy. If, on the other hand, *A Shrew* were the derivative text (again, I remain sceptical), the reviser might just have perceived the profoundly subversive implications of his Shakespearean original and sought to render it definitively anodyne. The point is finally indeterminable, in the absence of external evidence, but one way or the other, thanks to selective translation of a well-known pre-text and the measurable distortion this entails, an intertextual process is set in motion. And one way or the other, when Shakespeare's version is juxtaposed with its analogue, the French intertext enters the discursive field so as to inflect the basic Italian model and extend the range of available significance.

My subsequent chapters will not face the particular complication posed by the doubtful provenance and priority of an English dramatic analogue, much less one that can be claimed for Shakespeare himself. Different sorts of complications, however, will more than compensate for relative textual stability. In most cases, moreover, the perception of an 'ungrammaticality' – hence the presence for contemporary audiences of an inflecting intertext – will be less easy to establish: outright translation or paraphrase is rare, although verbal echoes are not infrequent. Neither are specific points of contact involving action or characters. Occasionally, as in the first part of Chapter 2, the cumulative evidence seems to warrant a claim for influence as such. Generally, however, the intertextual relation will need to be presented in the more limited form of a frank postulate, a way some audience members or readers may reasonably have responded, with the result of hearing and seeing, or simply

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thinking, differently – obliquely, one might say, instead of straightforwardly. This is always on the understanding that the texts involved – and the term 'text' is to be taken in the broadest possible sense – were conceivably accessible, by means ranging from print circulation to cultural commonplace, and thus may be considered as belonging to a shared discursive space, structured by a 'grammar' of its own.

That discursive space, however specifically defined for each textual cluster considered, will cumulatively be shown to extend across a broad selection of Shakespeare's comedies and tragicomedies. Its functionality, I trust, will confirm the common English range of reference as conditioned by the particular closeness, and simultaneous Otherness, of imaginative interaction with France – the theoretical basis of my approach since my first monograph on the subject.[25] The three comedies actually set in France (*Love's Labour's Lost*, *As You Like It, All's Well That Ends Well*) might almost seem designed to make this point explicitly. Yet I will be arguing (in Chapter 3) that familiarity and exoticism interplay within them in roundabout ways. As for the farther removed forms of exoticism announced by settings more remote, and by the non-French models often identifiable as major influences – or indeed primary sources – I propose that even these may sometimes have come at least partially into view for contemporaries through literary and cultural filters in place just across the Channel.

Notes

1 Richard Hillman, *French Reflections in the Shakespearean Tragic: Three Case Studies* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

2 Michele Marrapodi, 'The "woman as wonder" trope: from *commedia grave* to Shakespeare's *Pericles* and the last plays', in Michele Marrapodi (ed.), *Shakespeare and Renaissance Literary Theories: Anglo-Italian Transactions*, Anglo-Italian Renaissance Studies (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 175–99, 182.

3 Robert Henke, '*The Taming of the Shrew*, Italian intertexts, and cultural mobility', in Robert Henke and Eric Nicholson (eds), *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theater*, Studies in Performance and Early Modern Drama (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 24–36, usefully points out that 'The *commedia erudita* and the *commedia dell'arte* … must be seen as one interconnected system' because they were so 'understood by Shakespeare and other English dramatists' (p. 32).

4 Among Clubb's many contributions, I would single out an early monograph, *Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), particularly chapter 4 (pp. 93–123), entitled, 'The making of the pastoral play: Italian experiments between 1573 and 1590'. A still earlier article, 'Woman as wonder: a generic figure in Italian and Shakespearean comedy', in Dale B. J. Randall and

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G. W. Williams (eds), *Studies in the Continental Background of Renaissance English Literature: Essays Presented to John L. Lievsay* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1977), pp. 109–32, is illuminating with respect to a Counter-Reformation model for Shakespearean heroines, although the potential for ironic treatment is arguably undervalued. Besides his development of this approach in '"Woman as wonder"', Marrapodi has edited several related volumes of essays, most pertinently *Shakespeare and the Italian Renaissance: Appropriation, Transformation, Opposition*, Anglo-Italian Renaissance Studies (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

5 See Richard Hillman, *Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), *passim*, and *French Reflections in the Shakespearean Tragic*, p. 2.

6 See notably E. C. Pettet, *Shakespeare and the Romance Tradition* (London: Staples Press, 1949); Carol Gesner, *Shakespeare and the Greek Romance: A Study of Origins* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970); Lori Humphrey Newcomb, 'The sources of romance, the generation of story, and the patterns of Pericles tales', in Mary Ellen Lamb and Valerie Wayne (eds), *Staging Early Modern Romance: Prose Fiction, Dramatic Romance, and Shakespeare*, Routledge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 11 (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 21–46; and Stuart Gillespie, 'Shakespeare and Greek romance: "like an old tale still"', in Charles Martindale and Anthony B. Taylor (eds), *Shakespeare and the Classics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 225–37. Stanley Wells, 'Shakespeare and romance', in John Russell Brown and Bernard Harris (eds), *Later Shakespeare*, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, 8 (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), pp. 49–80, stands out for giving weight to the French translations – to the point of mistakenly stating (p. 53) that Thomas Underdowne translated Heliodorus from the French of Jacques Amyot.

7 Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), p. 135. Writing specifically of pastoral, Janette Dillon makes the following sensible remark, particularly pertinent to Chapter 3's discussion of *As You Like It*:

> … the urge to classify and categorize separate strands of influence as one thing and not another can also falsify. … It would be misleading to suggest that the pastoral mode on the English stage descended wholly from a line traced back from [John] Lyly to Virgil and Theocritus through [Giovanni Battista] Guarini, [Torquato] Tasso, and [Jacopo] Sannazaro. As the vernacular tradition of Robin Hood demonstrates, forms of pastoral were already deeply rooted in medieval English tradition. ('Shakespeare in English stage comedy', in Richard Dutton and Jean Howard (eds), *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works*, vol. 3: The Comedies (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 4–22, p. 11)

8 Leo Salingar, *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

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9 E.g., by Karen Newman, *Shakespeare's Rhetoric of Comic Characters: Dramatic Convention in Classical and Renaissance Comedy* (New York: Methuen, 1985), who singles out Salingar's outmoded approach to characterisation, chiefly his assumption that Shakespeare 'lends his people the quality of an inner life' (p. 59). More recent critical trends actually prove less censorious on this point, and it arguably suffices to update the notion by foregrounding the techniques used to produce the illusion of such inwardness. Cf. the treatment of soliloquy in Richard Hillman, *Self-Speaking in Medieval and Early Modern English Drama: Subjectivity, Discourse and the Stage* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997).

10 This despite Salingar's passing but panoramic observation that 'the sensation of losing in order to find, as expressed by Antipholus and Gonzalo, indicates the psychological track to be followed by Shakespeare's leading characters in general, whether at Belmont or Bohemia or the Forest of Arden' (*Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy*, p. 24).

11 *Ibid*., pp. 76–174 and 175–242, respectively.

12 *Ibid*., pp. 28–75.

13 For a complete edition, see *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages: publiés d'après le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ed. Gaston Paris, Ulysse Robert and François Bonnardot, 8 vols, Publications de la Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1876–97).

14 The key text among his many expositions of intertextuality as both theory and practice is perhaps Michael Riffaterre, 'Sémiotique intertextuelle: l'interprétant', *Revue d'esthétique*, 1–2 (1979), 128–50. See also his articles, 'The Interpretant in Literary Semiotics', *American Journal of Semiotics*, 3:4 (1985), 41–55, and 'Syllepsis', *Critical Inquiry*, 6 (1980), 625–38. I have made an extensive case for the practical application of the theoretical approach in Richard Hillman, *Intertextuality and Romance in Renaissance Drama: The Staging of Nostalgia* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 1–25. In fact, much of the recent critical discourse concerning cultural transfer and exchange with Italy employs such terminology, although not necessarily with conceptual precision. One may cite the titles of three (further) collections of essays edited by Michele Marrapodi: *Shakespeare and Intertextuality: The Transition of Cultures between Italy and England in the Early Modern Period*, Biblioteca Di Cultura (Rome: Bulzoni, 2000); *Shakespeare, Italy, and Intertextuality* (Manchester: Manchester University Pres, 2004); and (with A. J. Hoenselaars) *The Italian World of English Renaissance Drama: Cultural Exchange and Intertextuality* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998).

15 Richard Hillman, '*La Création du monde* et *The Taming of the Shrew*: Du Bartas comme intertexte', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, ns 15:3 (1991), 249–58, and *Shakespearean Subversions: The Trickster and the Play-Text* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 24–38.

16 Carole Levin and John Watkins, *Shakespeare's Foreign Worlds: National and Transnational Identities in the Elizabethan Age* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009), p. 191. For a still more recent reappraisal of the multiple Italian

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textual and cultural resonances of Shakespeare's play, see Henke, '*The Taming of the Shrew*', who does not, however, mention the anonymous work.

17 Levin and Watkins, *Shakespeare's Foreign Worlds*, p. 190.

18 The most thorough recent appraisals of Du Bartas's popularity in England (and Scotland, where he enjoyed the special favour of James VI) are by Anne Lake Prescott: 'The reception of Du Bartas in England', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 15 (1968), 144–73, and 'Du Bartas and Renaissance Britain: an update', *Œuvres et critiques*, 29 (2004), 27–38; see also Robert Cummings, 'Reading Du Bartas', in Fred Schurink (ed.), *Tudor Translation*, Early Modern Literature in History (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 175–96. I have argued for the importance of Du Bartas's poetic narrative *La Judit* for several early modern English plays: see Richard Hillman, *French Origins of English Tragedy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), *passim*.

19 Stephen Roy Miller (ed.), *The Taming of a Shrew: The 1594 Quarto* (anon., here attrib. to William Shakespeare), The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), n. to xiv.116–25.

20 Anonymous, *The Taming of a Shrew*, in Geoffrey Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols (London: Routledge; New York: Columbia University Press, 1957–75), vol. 1: Early Comedies, Poems, *Romeo and Juliet* (1964), pp. 69–108, xviii.33–6. Bullough (p. 57) endorses, as I would, the more traditional view that *A Shrew* derives from Shakespeare's principal dramatic source, now unknown.

21 See Hillman, *Shakespearean Subversions*, pp. 35–6 and 253, n. 7. Suppressed along with the idea is the provocative image of chaos as a bear-whelp to be licked into natural form (*ibid.*, p. 53).

22 Guillaume de Salluste, seigneur Du Bartas, *La première sepmaine*, in Urban Tigner Holmes, Jr., John Coriden Lyons and Robert White Linker (eds), *The Works of Guillaume de Salluste Sieur du Bartas*, 3 vols, vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938), 6.954.

23 Du Bartas, *La première sepmaine*, 6.961–6. For a discussion, see Hillman, *Shakespearean Subversions*, pp. 36–7.

24 Du Bartas, *La première sepmaine*, 6.987.

25 Hillman, *Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France*.

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2

Dreaming in French

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Inflecting dramatic pastoral

If there remains one underappreciated element in the most widely appreciated of Shakespeare's romantic comedies, it is arguably the distinctive role of Helena. Appreciating that role, moreover, entails giving more weight than is usually done to the play's affiliation with the pastoral drama increasingly popular in Italy and France. Helena is passively instrumental to the play's exploitation – more sustained and intensive than anywhere else in Shakespeare – of the pastoral plot device known as the *chaîne amoureuse*: the necessary premise of the rivalry over Hermia between Lysander and Demetrius, which, in keeping with convention, is later transferred to Helena, is the latter's unaccountable abandonment by her 'true' love before the play begins – the violation of 'natural taste' (IV.i.174) that must be repaired at the conclusion.

But Helena also plays an active role, at a key moment and in a surprising way, by imparting a reverse twist to the chain – one that unfolds, moreover, a layer of dramatic meaning beyond plot. For Helena's instant and insistent dismissal as 'mockery' of Lysander's and Demetrius' declarations of love (hyper-sincere as they are, because fuelled by love juice) serves at once as the ultimate ironic proof of love's perversity and as confirmation of a passive (but manipulative) addiction to rejection that counterpoints Hermia's 'fierce' (III.ii.325) commitment to possession. To this extent, despite the play's broad subordination of character to form, the jealous dynamic between the two childhood friends entails a decided gesture towards psychological – to complement their physical – differentiation.

Thus, even when faced with Lysander alone, Helena's reflex is to extend her disbelief to the absent Demetrius – and infinitely in time ('never'):

> Wherefore was I to this keen mock'ry born?
> When at your hands did I deserve this scorn?
> Is't not enough, is't not enough, young man,

> That I did never, no, nor never can,
> Deserve a sweet look from Demetrius' eye,
> But you must flout my insufficiency?
> (II.ii.123–8)

And when Demetrius in person confronts her with what should be her dream come true, showering her with 'sweet look[s]', she only renews and deepens her resistance:

> If you were civil and knew courtesy,
> You would not do me thus much injury.
> Can you not hate me, as I know you do,
> But you must join in souls to mock me too?
> (III.ii.147–50)

I will be proposing this problematic link in the *chaîne amoureuse* as an intertextually productive 'ungrammaticality'.

This chapter will range over several French intertexts. The critical history of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* makes it opportune to begin, however, by engaging the early modern European tradition of pastoral romance by way of a vastly influential offshoot from Sannazaro's Italian.[1] For more than a century, proponents of the influence on Shakespeare of the *Diana* of Jorge de Montemayor have been pushing to take the point beyond *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, on which there is a broad consensus (with respect to the Proteus-Julia plot), to the amorous intricacies of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[2] Apart from tenuous connections in the form of scattered romance elements, notably the magic potions from Book 2,[3] the case rests on the first book's story of Selvagia – a four-party tangle of trickery, jealousy and inconstancy forming a typical *chaîne amoureuse*. Yet the effort to establish the *Diana* as a basic source stalls, quite simply, when it attempts to move beyond general resemblances. Few scholars have proved willing to follow Judith M. Kennedy in her leap of faith: 'the main plot of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is drawn from Montemayor Book I'.[4]

As it happens, the brittleness of the arguments for influence is epitomised by Harrison's attempt to find a precedent in Montemayor for Helena's presumption of mockery:

> With reversal of sex, this action suggests the behavior of Montanus for Ismenia. Like Helena with Demetrius, he is in love with Ismenia, who disdains him now for Alanius. When Ismenia finally returns his love, one of the grounds is a bestowal of 'superfluous favours'.[5]

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The parallel advanced here is remote: Helena never falls out of love with Demetrius; Ismenia has enjoyed a reciprocal love with Montanus for some while before he wearies of her. Certainly, all four of Montemayor's lovers become the victims of unrequited – and the objects of unwanted – love, but no one mistakes protestation for mockery. There is a passing moment when Selvagia finds herself in Helena's initial position and anticipates her self-pity – 'And I (poor soule) remained all alone deceived and scorned in mine own affection'[6] (which happens to be for Alanius) – but she is soon wound back into the chain, when Montanus redirects his love towards her.

In sum, the points of contact between Shakespeare's play and *Diana* are elusive and volatile; finally, they offer slight purchase to analysis and resist inflation beyond the status of parallel commonplaces. Moreover, the stubbornly undramatic character of Montemayor's method is hardly an incentive to insist on the connections. For the 'strange cousinage of love'[7] in *Diana* is kept at a considerable narrative distance: 'And when all the fower discontented and discordant lovers met there together, it cannot be imagined what we all felt: for every one looked upon another that would not have bene viewed of those eies againe.'[8] Of course, the feelings *are* to be imagined – that is part of the desired effect – but they are evoked indirectly, in the abstract, and pictured from a bird's (or fairy's?) eye-view. Nor, to say the least, are they made fun of. It might be conjectured that Shakespeare was responding to precisely such a challenge. But the teasing and nebulous relation critics have perceived between *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the *Diana* might also suggest the mediation of a 'missing link' in dramatic form, a precedent for the stage-worthiness of the basic material of the prose romance. So some critics have proposed even for *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, encouraged by documentation of a lost play of *Felix and Felismena*, which is reasonably conjectured to have been 'a pastoral based on Montemayor'.[9]

In fact, another dramatic derivative of Montemayor was in circulation, this one chiefly inspired by the Selvagia story, and it has not been lost, though it has been all but forgotten. It originated on the other side of the Channel, and in (untranslated) French. Kennedy, cautious on the linguistic point, confines to translations her survey of the works through which *Diana* '[i]ndirectly … continued to influence English prose fiction in the seventeenth century'.[10] That survey, however, includes the Montemayor-inspired series of pastoral romances in prose (as usual, interspersed with verse) by Nicholas de Montreux known as the *Bergeries de Juliette*, of which an English version appeared in 1610, without acknowledgement of the author.[11] The same author, working in a different, though closely related medium, is my subject here. Montreux, whose anagrammatic *nom de plume* was Ollenix du

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Mont-Sacré, was an enormously prolific, and politically engaged, man of letters (and priest), who, through most of the 1590s, served as cultural *factotum* to the Governor of Brittany, the Duke of Mercœur, a member of the House of Lorraine who held out for the Holy League (*Sainte Ligue*) against Henri IV until 1598, when he finally came to terms. Montreux wrote in every possible genre, including the dramatic ones, and it appears to have escaped the notice of English literary historians (and many French ones) that the third volume of the *Bergeries* included, as a very substantial appendix (some 150 pages), a comedy entitled *La Diane … Pastourelle ou Fable Bosquagere*.[12] The dating of *La Diane* is uncertain: it is not clear on what basis the *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises* proposes 1592,[13] and there is no trace of a published version earlier than the only extant edition of the third book of the *Bergeries*, which is dated 1594.[14] As to performance history, there is no trace whatever, but other published plays of Montreux were certainly staged, including his tragedies of *Isabelle* and *Cléopâtre* (both probably in 1594)[15] and the pastoral *Arimène*, for which a particularly elaborate production in Nantes in 1596 is well documented.[16] The relevant point for my purposes, obviously, is that *La Diane* was certainly in print in time to have been encountered by Shakespeare, probably as a fresh publication, prior to his composition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, by consensus in 1595–96.

What Shakespeare would have encountered amounts to a vast stage-fantasia (roughly 4500 lines, divided into only three acts[17]) on the themes of Montemayor – a kaleidoscopic evocation of extreme love attitudes, postures and manoeuvres, rather than an adaptation in a strict sense. No doubt Montreux's impulse to produce pastoral in dramatic form owed much to the popularity of Italian models – Tasso's *Aminta*, Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, and *commedia dell' arte*[18] – but the result is very different from them, as indeed it is radically different from the *Diana* itself. The dramatist inverts some situations, invents or mingles others, at once clarifying and concentrating the lovers' confusion. He also renders that confusion, despite and across many poignant emotional moments, broadly and deeply comic, bordering on farce. This point, which positively capitalises on the earnest intensity of Montemayor,[19] has been underrecognised, if indeed it has been recognised at all: perhaps, in order to see it, one needs to read the play through a Shakespearean lens, especially that of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It is partly that Montreux integrates the element of magic, unlike Montemayor, as the mainspring of the plot, not merely the mechanism of its resolution but the cause of its central complication. Italian pastoral offers parallels to this, however, and finally the difference comes down to comic distancing – the key point allowed by Henke as distinguishing Shakespearean from Italian practice:

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> Whereas Shakespeare (in alignment with modern taste) treated the amorous pathos of shepherds or exiles in the forest as a parodic, comic theme, in *As You Like It*, as well as in *Dream*, pastoral love is taken more or less seriously in the commedia dell'arte scenarios, as it was in court and academic Italian pastoral drama.[20]

The precedent of the contemporary French playwright offers particular reason for questioning what 'modern taste' might mean in this context.

Given the constraints and conventions of Montreux's theatre – minimal action (special effects aside), lengthy and repetitive monologues – his lovers' attitudes are deployed with remarkable energy. Contrasting with extravagant quasi-arias and extreme expostulation are sequences of lively repartee, often in stichomythia. There are abrupt outbreaks of verbal – and threats of physical – violence, as well as encounters self-consciously played out along the *chaîne amoureuse* in the style epitomised at the conclusion of *As You Like It*: 'If this be so, why blame you me to love you? …' (V.ii.103 ff.). Montreux is especially adept at evoking the characters' volatile emotional states with a fine balance of the pathetic and the ridiculous. In sum, they are recognisably inhabitants of the same sector of romantic comedy, oscillating between tragic menace and absurd deflation, that Shakespeare stakes out in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The adroit manipulation of metre enhances the similarity. Montreux manages his hendecasyllabic couplets with a lightness and dexterity that often make them resemble Shakespeare's pentameter, not least in building ironic distance into the lovers' expression of their heart-felt sentiments. And in that cause, for his part, the Shakespeare of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* regularly has his lovers slip into rhyme, as in the speeches of Helena cited above.

Nowhere, in fact, are the manifold likenesses to Shakespeare more apparent than in the abrupt turn taken by the *chaîne amoureuse* at the moment when Montreux's principal heroine, Diane, is surprised to find herself the sudden object of love-declarations on the part of Nymphis, the supposed shepherd she has been doting on in vain. In fact, Nymphis will be revealed as a noble outsider who has so disguised himself in order to pursue Jullie – also apparently in vain, because the latter has vowed herself, most unlike this Diane, to divine love and 'single blessedness' (*MND*, I.i.78); Nymphis naturally also has a rival for Jullie in the person of Hector, likewise drawn by desire into the pastoral milieu. The basic complications have all been put in place when, shortly after the opening of the third act, Diane enters wandering in the throes of amorous anguish, longing for night, when she might hope to have a consoling dream – 'songe' makes a resounding keynote – of Nymphis' presence:

> Du songe faux si subtile est la ruse,
> Que bien souuent noz ames il abuse,

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Et pour vn temps a sur nous le pouuoir,
Qu'à noz deux yeux pour vray se faire voir:
…
Morphee encore auroit bien la puissance
En me trompant de tromper ma souffrance,
Et de me rendre en songe seulement
Nymphis propice à guarir mon tourment.
…
Ah pleust aux Dieux, que Iuppin venerable,
Rendist ce iour mon songe veritable,
En rencontrant mon Nymphis. …
…
Mais ie m'en vay par tout cercher Nymphis,
Et faire vray rencontrer si ie puis
Mon songe heureux.

(Of false dreaming so subtle are the ruses
That oftentimes our souls it quite abuses,
May for a time such power exercise
That truthful it appears to our two eyes –
…
Morpheus would again be able, surely,
By fooling me to fool my misery,
And render me – though in a dream, not real –
Nymphis agreeing my torment to heal.
…
Ah, might the gods agree that venerable
Jupiter this day should make veritable
My dream, a meeting grant with Nymphis… !
…
But I'll go seek Nymphis by every way
And cause to come true, if ever I may,
My happy dream.)[21]

The irony of the dramatic moment thus prepared could not be starker, for her dream now apparently comes true. It does so, however, in the deceptive form of Fauste, the still-faithful lover she had abandoned, Demetrius-like, before the play began, now magically endowed with the features and manners of his rival. This counterfeit Nymphis declares his passionate devotion to her, and in his true character, he is, of course, sincere. Thus, in the same paradoxical sense as Helena, Diane would be right to trust her ears, if not her eyes. Yet, also like Helena, she chooses to take this sincere profession of faith for mockery. Moreover, she grounds her disbelief

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on her inferior beauty – Helena's theme from her initial self-presentation (I.i.226–51) – and her expression carries the same edge of self-pitying insincerity:

> Ah, ô Nymphis, tu te moques de moy!
> Tu gausse encor mon immortelle foy!
> Las! non content du mal qui me martyre,
> Veux-tu encor de mon angoisse rire?
> Contente toy des douleurs que ie sens,
> Sans te moquer de mes maux languissans:
> Car ie sçay bien qu'au pris de moy Jullie
> Est trop parfaite, & trop belle & iolie
> Pour la quitter, qui l'aimas plus que toy,
> Pour si à coup estre amoureux de moy:
> Tu ne sçaurois cela me faire acroire.
>
> (Ah, O Nymphis, you're merely mocking me!
> You wrong again my loving constancy!
> Not content, alas, with seeing me languish,
> Do you wish further to laugh at my anguish?
> Content yourself with the pains that I'm feeling
> Without mocking injuries never-healing:
> For I well know that, compared with me, Julie
> Is too perfect, too alluring and pretty
> To leave her, whom you loved above your being,
> So suddenly in love with me agreeing.
> You never will make me swallow that line.)[22]

All in all, I suggest, the coincidence in situation, character and register between Montreux and Shakespeare at this point is simply too close to be one, and in the absence of an alternative explanation, the likelihood of direct influence seems strong indeed.

My objective is not limited to proposing an unsuspected 'source' for the main plot of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. First, the case sheds light, as well, on Shakespeare's compositional practice. On the one hand, it makes particularly revealing evidence for *bricolage* – the assemblage of local bits and pieces, often of widely diverse origin, and especially of theatrical turns that evidently struck him as dramatically useful. On the other hand, perhaps paradoxically, the playwright also emerges more clearly as a 'literary dramatist',[23] searching out more or less recondite material by reading in line with recent intellectual trends. With regard to textual specifics, *La Diane* may be brought to bear on some of those pastorally encoded features of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that make it *sui generis* among Shakespearean comedies, most notably its

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exploitation of magic to concentrate the complications, and denouement, of the *chaîne amoureuse*. This is avowedly to shift the ground from influence to intertextuality. According to the grammar of pastoral permutations, the moment that distinctively links Helena with Diane amounts to precisely the kind of 'ungrammaticality' that intertextual theory takes to be the sign of the intertext. I propose to proceed in the direction thus signposted by tracing some further parallels – and, inevitably, divergences. This will require further extensive quotation from Montreux's play, which I assume few readers will have at their fingertips.

Questions of register are elusive, of course, and tend to be governed by context and convention; *La Diane* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* share common ground with hundreds of specimens of amorous pastoral discourse in the period. Montreux's lexical, tonal and emotional repertoire remains fairly distinctive, however – by comparison with Montemayor as well as the Italian models – while the overlap with *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is persistent. Diane's invocation of her 'immortelle foy' sounds a note that runs throughout the play – one decidedly ironic, given her desertion of Fauste for Nymphis before the action begins, the event that sets in motion the *chaîne amoureuse*. In this respect, she anticipates not Helena but Demetrius, and she too will provide the eventual resolution by returning to her first love, as Demetrius will realise that 'all the faith, the virtue of my heart, / The object and the pleasure of mine eye / Is only Helena' (*MND*, IV.i.169–71). At the same time, Diane's initial soliloquy, in which she expatiates with rueful helplessness on the irresistible irrationality of love, initiates the resemblance to her female counterpart. As Helena attributes her unhappiness to 'winged Cupid painted blind', 'the boy Love … perjur'd everywhere' (I.i.235, 241), so Diane does her own to 'Amour enfant' (The child Love) who 'Veut estre aueugle' (Wants to be blind) and 'Nous fait souuent violer notre foy, / Nostre serment, noz vœux, nostre constance' (Imposes on us that our oaths are straw, / Our pledges, our vows, our fidelity).[24]

Such denigration of eros opposes, at least implicitly, the high Neoplatonism that exalts the love of a beautiful object as awakening the divine love resident in the soul. If *A Midsummer Night's Dream* remains equivocal on this point, such a view has an eloquent spokesperson in *La Diane* – several, in fact, at various moments. The discourse of the wise old shepherdess Arbuste ('bush'), who will play a role in restoring order, actually anticipates the language of Helena in inverted form when she counsels the lovelorn Hector. Hector is a knight who has abandoned martial glory for a humble pastoral existence out of passion for Jullie, in whom he seeks some way of awakening love. Arbuste begins, interestingly, by dismissing love charms as futile – including 'le suc

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vert de cent diuerses fleurs' (green juice of a hundred diverse flowers) – and like Helena she evokes the erratic omnipotence of 'l'Archer' (that Archer), who 'De ces erreurs ne daigne faire conte' (Deigns not of such follies to take account).[25] But whereas Helena – at once defending her own beauty and foretelling the love changes to come – complains that 'Things base and vile, holding no quantity, / Love can transpose to form and dignity. / Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind' (*MND*, I.i.232–4), Arbuste, with overlapping vocabulary, maintains that love

> s'y esprent de la chose presente
> Que l'œil fait estre à notre ame plaisante.
> Ce qu'on ne voit digne d'estre estimé,
> Ne peut aussi estre de l'ame aimé.
>
> (Catch[es] fire inside from something present
> Which to our soul the eye has rendered pleasant.
> That which appears unworthy to our eyes
> The soul – the seat of love – can hardly prize.)[26]

The argument she will make to Jullie is of the gather-ye-rosebuds variety – and it will be vigorously resisted[27] – but Arbuste counsels Hector that love must undergo trials in order to become truly fulfilling. This is a possible reading, at least, of the experience of both Helena and Hermia, and while it is also a commonplace, it is expressed in terms that anticipate the exhausted despair to which those heroines are reduced:

> Mais ce grand bien à tous biens inegal,
> Ne s'acquiert pas sans souffrir bien du mal,
> Sans trauailler, & sans desesperee
> Porter son ame & sa face esploree.
> Cela le fait sentir plus doux encor:
> Car plus de mal fait souffrir vn thresor
> Pour l'acquerir[,] plus il est d'excellence,
> Lors que de luy nous auons iouissance.
>
> (But this great good, exceeding other gain,
> Is not achieved without substantial pain,
> Without much anguish, and without despair
> In our souls and a weeping face to bear.
> That makes it to our senses still more sweet:
> The more ill something precious makes us meet
> In gaining it, the more its excellence
> When its enjoyment we experience.)[28]

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Beneath the often farcical surface of pastoral comedy, Montreux's preoccupation is clearly with the reintegration of blundering mortals into the cosmic harmony, the reconciliation of human with divine love. Diane herself begins her initial discourse with an idealistic evocation of the universal order linking 'Ce qui là haut immortel se dispose' (That which above enjoys immortal worth) with 'Ce qui mortel en la terre respose'(That which as mortal dwells upon the earth);[29] her central example is the regular progression of the seasons, which ensures that

> La palle Hyuer ne vient en la bea[u]té
> Du gay Printemps, ny l'Automne en Esté:
> Ces larges prez, ces arbres, ce bosquage,
> Ne portent point leur verdeur en la nage,
> [Et] ces doux fruicts qui pendent orangez
> Au haut de l'arbre es branches arrangez,
> Ne viennent point au vol de l'hirondelle,
> O[u] ce pendant que l'Hyuer nous regele.
>
> (Pale Winter does not arrive in the splendour
> Of gay Springtime, nor Autumn in the Summer:
> These trees, this forest grove, these sprawling meadows
> By no means wear their verdure when it snows,
> And those sweet orange fruits which on the tree
> High up among the branches hang so neatly
> Hardly grow when the swallow flies away,
> While Winter reasserts its icy sway.)[30]

Yet it immediately appears that such absence of 'confusion' – one of Montreux's recurrent terms – is precarious. In fact, confounding winter and spring is one of the specialties of the magician Elymant, 'qui rend au cœur d'hyuer / Le sein glacé de la terre couuert / De mille fleurs' (who, when it should be snowing, / Sets, in winter, the earth's chill bosom growing / A thousand flowers).[31] Elymant is instantly identifiable as the cave-dwelling conjurer of romance tradition – one of Prospero's numerous prototypes, although his counterpart in Montemayor is Felicia – and his name suggests a particularly close connection with the basic forces of nature. Destined though he is, moreover, to impose order at the conclusion, the immediate chaotic action flows from his subversive influence. In transforming Fauste into Nymphis, Elymant effectively combines the functions of Oberon and Puck: he aims at the replacing of love where it belongs, but in the short term he compounds chaos, producing 'Some true love turn'd, and not a false turn'd true' (*MND*, III.ii.91). His intervention earns the admiration of Fauste's friend Frontin – 'O

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sainct sçauoir, qui les mortels transforme / Et qui leur peux faire changer de forme' (O sacred Art, who transform mortal men / And make them take another shape again)[32] – who also, however, foreshadows the degeneration of the encounter by warning against Diane's anger, should she discover the deception.[33] Elymant enables, in effect, the scorned lover's wish to become his rival – the wish that is Helena's: 'Were the world mine, Demetrius being bated, / The rest I'll give to be to you translated' (*MND*, I.i.190–1).

The conflation of magical functions in Montreux anticipates the fact that in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the supernatural origins of natural disruption, as evoked by Titania ('on old Hiems' thin and icy crown / An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds / Is, as in mockery, set' (II.i.109–11)), are themselves love-driven – the reflection of the jealous quarrelling between her and Oberon. The originally perfect state of nature is a recurrent motif in *La Diane* – witness, notably, the extended praise of the natural world as opposed to art, and artful behaviour, that is offered by Nymphis,[34] the cultured outsider in a position to judge. But eros, figured as Cupid, has thrown this pastoral setting into confusion, according to Diane:

> Tout va par ordre: amour seul excepté,
> Qui ne cognoist raison, ny equité,
> Qui rend confus aux traits de sa malice
> L'ordre du monde, & chasse la iustice.
> Amour enfant, porte vn corps de garçon
> Nud de prudence, & l'ame de raison,
> Et pour couurir d'ignorance son vice,
> Veut qu'vn bandeau en voile la notice,
> Veut estre aueugle afin d'excuse auoir
> Si bien souuent a' faute de bien voir
> Jl va roulant dans vn gouffre de fautes,
> Qui sont vertus aux ames trop peu cautes:
> …
> Voilà pourquoy ieunes on voit tousiours
> Du fol amour les actes & les iours.
> O cruel Dieu, qui te rends remarquable
> Pour estre prompt, & sur tous variable,
> Qui fais ton loz d'auoir l'ame agité,
> De vains pensers & d'infidelité.
>
> (All goes by order – only Love excepted,
> Who never has reason nor right accepted,
> Who renders confused, as he shoots in play,
> The world's design, chasing justice away.

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> The child Love: his body a reckless boy's,
> A soul that no jot of reason employs,
> One who, to keep his vice from being scolded,
> Prefers with ignorance to go blindfolded,
> Wants to be blind, that he may be excused
> If often, with lack of clear sight abused,
> In a gulf of faults he goes about thrusting
> What seem to be virtues to souls too trusting.
> …
> That is why one always as young portrays
> Foolish Love, according his deeds and days.
> O cruel god, who make yourself stand out
> Above all as lively and gadabout,
> Whose glory it is to stir up the soul
> With thoughts vain and fickle beyond control.)[35]

Finally, Love's perverse tyranny extends at least metaphorically to the inconstant effects of the 'ciel' (sky) upon the earth: 'Ores trop sec par la chaleur il fend, / Ores mouillé v[n]e riuiere il rend' (Now, too dry from the sun's heat, it is cracked, / Now with wetness it pours a cataract).[36] By this one may judge not only Love's power to cause 'errer les esprits plus parfaits' (to err the most perfect minds)[37] but the mutable state of mortality itself:

> O changement! Ainsi tout icy bas
> Change de forme, & chemine à grands pas
> Vers le tombeau, où gist enseuelie
> Auec noz corps nostre mortelle vie.
>
> (O change! Thus all that here below abides
> Changes in form, and travels with great strides
> Towards the tomb, where will be sepulchred
> With our remains the life with which we stirred.)[38]

Diane regards herself as the register of such changes ('Combien de fois serue souz ta puissance, / Ay ie esprouué ta legere inconstance?' (How many times, slave to your potency, / Have I known your nimble inconstancy?),[39] describing the effect of Nymphis' beauty in terms recalled by Helena's rueful bitterness over Demetrius. The latter now 'errs, doting on Hermia's eyes' (*MND*, I.i.230), whereas 'ere [he] looked on' them, he 'hail'd down oaths that he was only mine' (242–3). Diane, too, had vowed all to Fauste,

> Mais tout soudain que i'eus veu les beaux yeux
> Du beau Nymphis …
> …

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Lors ie perdis en vn prompt mouuement
Le souuenir de Fauste mon amant.

(But the very instant the lovely eyes
Of lovely Nymphis took mine by surprise –
…
Then with an instant's quickness did I find
My lover Fauste quite vanished from my mind.)[40]

What is more, Diane makes her case an index of the corruption of the pastoral world, under Love's tyranny, by the manners of cities and courts, where it is 'Gloire & [honneur] de trahir ses paroles' (To break one's word … honour and renown).[41] By means of Love 'errant parmy ces bois' (error-strayed, in these woods), the perjuries and infidelities of the great ('la foy, qui pariure / Fait à la foy des Monarques iniure' (the faith which, turned to perjury, / To the faith of monarchs does injury) have been set loose among the shepherds, who now themselves make use of 'vains propos, de promesses, de veux, / Et de serments pour abuser les Dieux' (vain discourse, vows, promises, … / And swearing, by which the gods are abused).[42] So indeed do the inconstancies of Shakespeare's lovers ironically reflect not only the jealousies of the Fairy King and Queen but also the notorious perjuries of Theseus, which Oberon recalls in laying them to Titania's charge (*MND*, II.i.77–80).

The most pointed comments on oath-breaking, however, come in the subsequent argument between Diane and Fauste (in his true form), which turns, for over two hundred lines[43] on the stock theme which is Helena's opening one and which inspires Bottom to 'gleek' (*MND*, III.i.146) – in effect, that 'reason and love keep little company together now-a-days' (143–4).[44] Ironically, the ultimate proof of the proposition is offered, not by Diane's self-justifications on these grounds but by the outburst of Fauste, who, an instant after declaring himself 'Serf d'vne ingrate, & qui manque de foy' (Enslave[d] … to a faith-breaker, an ingrate),[45] cannot repress a renewed outburst of passion:

O belle Nymphe! ô Diane aux beaux yeux!
O seul honneur de ces terrestres lieux!
Belle deesse, & plus parfaite encore
Que ne fut onc Minerue qu'on adore.

(O fair Nymph! O Diane with such fair eyes!
O sole honour of all beneath the skies!
Fair goddess indeed – as perfect, still more,
Than Minerva may claim, whom we adore!)[46]

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As an absurd reversal this makes a worthy model for the effect of the love juice on Demetrius: 'O Helen, goddess, nymph, perfect, divine! / To what, my love, shall I compare thine eyne?' (*MND*, III.ii.137–8).

It is worth considering more closely the context of Diane's realisation of illusion and disillusion. In the preceding scene, the darker overtones of the supreme comic moment are anticipated through ekphrasis. As a reward for procuring the magician's services, Fauste promises the faithful Frontin the pastoral world's finest work of art, an elaborately carved wooden goblet, which he proceeds (at great length) to describe. On it are represented in detail four of the classical tragic victims of love. First and last, respectively, come Adonis and Hippolytus – the former, of course, a Shakespearean subject in his own right, the latter ironically called to mind by Oberon at the conclusion of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 'the issue, there create, / Ever shall be fortunate' (V.i.405–6). Between them are presented the two suicides who explicitly figure in Shakespeare: Dido and Pyramus. Dido is depicted preparing herself for what Hermia evokes – 'that fire which burn'd the Carthage queen / When the false Trojan under sail was seen' (I.i.173–4) – while one also sees 'sur la mer au loin se retirer / L'ingrat Enee' (on the sea, into the distance sailing, / Ingrate Aeneas).[47] The keynote, sounded twice here[48] and often again elsewhere, is 'dolans' (lamenting), and it is hard not to think of Bottom's 'condoling' (I.ii.41) lover – especially given the juxtaposition with Pyramus and Thisbe. Indeed, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see a touch of – or the potential for – parody in 'la dolante Thisbee' (lamenting Thisbe), who appears 'La bouche ouuerte, & comme regrettant / Son cher Pirame, helas, qu'elle aimoit tant' (Her mouth agape, as if expressing woe / For her dear Pyramus, whom she loved so), or in Pyramus himself, whose corpse, 'Ayant le sein d'outre en outre percé' (When he had completely transfixed his breast),[49] seems to have suffered something like Pyramus-Bottom's overkill: 'Thus die I: thus, thus, thus'; 'Now die, die, die, die, die' (*MND*, V.i.300, 306). Obviously, as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, we are being given the tragic counterpoint to the comic love plot, but Montreux pushes the point further.

This he does when Fauste's deception is discovered, as it is in a way that compounds the irony. For Diane, after her initial refusal to believe the profession of Fauste-Nymphis, actually falls into the trap, with another abrupt reversal – from 'Tu ne scaurois cela me faire acroire' (You never will make me swallow that line), to 'O cher Nymphis à ce coup ie te croy!' (O dear Nymphis, I take you at your word!).[50] Indeed, she is convinced to the point where she and her supposed beloved mutually plight their troths. (Fauste's request here, 'Baille-moy donc ta belle & blanche main' (Give me your hand, therefore, lovely and white),[51] corresponds roughly to Demetrius' adoration

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of Helena's whiter than white hand in *MND*, III.ii.141–4.) Immediately, however, Diane is thrown back into double confusion when she sees the copy and the original of Nymphis together. At first she wonders whether it is night after all, and she is dreaming: 'Suis-je d'erreur encor enueloppee, / Par les appasts du deceueur Morphee?' (Am I still enveloped in error's mist / By Morpheus' deceptions, which persist?).[52] As with Shakespeare's baffled lovers, pathos dissolves into bathos yet manages to remain pathetic: 'en ces obiects diuers, / Je me consomme & ruine & me perds' (The double things I see / Mean the total ruin and loss of me); 'Nature a-t'elle [*sic*] à ma douleur humaine / Fait deux Nymphis pour soulager ma peine?'(Has Nature, when I suffered, proved humane, / Made me two Nymphises to ease my pain?).[53] Despite her hope that nature may be responsible, she correctly concludes in favour of supernatural intervention:

> Si faut-il que ie trame
> La verité de ce magique charme,
> Et que ie sçache à ce coup, si ie puis,
> Lequel d'eux est le naturel Nymphis.
> Ie ne sçaurois estre plus abusee,
> Ny follement par l'amour insensee:
> Jl faut sçauoir si mon œil est deceu,
> Ou si le vray il auroit apperceu.
>
> (Well, I must penetrate
> The magic cause of my bewildered state
> And know at a stroke, if ever I can,
> Which one is Nymphis the natural man.
> I cannot stand to be further abused,
> Or by my love to be madly confused.
> I must find out if my eye is deceived,
> Or whether true things are being perceived.)[54]

At the moment when she exclaims, 'Ie ne sçaurois estre plus abusee', Diane is truly in the situation that Helena falsely imagines: 'De deux Bergers, aimez de tout mon cœur / L'vn m'est cruel, & l'autre deceueur' (Of two shepherds, one, loved with all my heart, / Proves cruel, the other treacherous by art);[55] 'O that a lady, of one man refus'd, / Should of another therefore be abus'd!' (*MND*, II.ii.133–4). But she is also conspicuously right that love itself is to blame – 'follement par l'amour insensee' (by my love … madly confused)[56] – a sentiment for which Puck is Shakespeare's spokesman: 'Cupid is a knavish lad, / Thus to make poor females mad' (*MND*, III.ii.440–1). (Puck's description of Hermia's state here – 'curst and sad' (439) – would equally apply to

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Diane until the denouement.) Fittingly, it is finally he who undertakes (by way of Lysander) to 'apply, / To your eye, / Gentle lover, remedy' (II.ii.450–2), given that the lovers' own attempts are at once futile and desperate, as in *La Diane* – and not surprisingly, 'Car en amours il n'est point de remede / Qui soit cruel, ni de guarison laide' (For in love no remedy's deemed unkind, / Nor unbecoming cure repels the mind).[57] So the real Nymphis puts it, at once exploding Fauste's stratagem (the latter blames 'les Dieux, trop peruers' (the gods, opposed / Perversely)[58]) and, in his own desperation over Jullie, sympathising with it.

It is when the real Nymphis undeceives her 'abusez yeux' (eyes, in their deception) that Diane threatens to seek her own solution by following the tragic lovers of mythology: 'Il faut tenter de la mort le remede' (The remedy of death must be essayed).[59] The idea is evoked in passing by the self-pitying Helena: '"Tis partly my own fault, / Which death, or absence, soon shall remedy' (*MND*, III.ii.243–4). Almost from the first she has been willing, if not eager, 'To die upon the hand I love so well' (II.i.244), and she is echoed in another key by the terrified Hermia, deserted by Lysander: 'Either death, or you I'll find immediately' (II.ii.156). But Montreux makes Diane's dilemma more acute and concrete, if no less psychologically vivid: although her reason might exonerate her, for it informs her that she is not bound by the oath she has been tricked into giving, she nevertheless feels under compulsion – a presage of her eventual 'return' to her first love, and to reason of a higher order. The effect anticipates the staying power, the implicit 'rightness' of the spell cast on Demetrius, which of course remains in place beyond the confines of the play.

For the moment, however, Fauste offers to release Diane by his own death, admitting to having, 'd'amour pressé,/ Blessé ton aise, & ton ame offencé' (at love's instigation, / … shocked your soul and caused you agitation).[60] (It is a pang of conscience, incidentally, that never afflicts Lysander for his slighting of Hermia, similarly expressed: 'Why should he stay, whom love doth press to go?' (*MND*, III.ii.184).) Again, the offence, though not the motive, corresponds to what Helena merely imagines:

> A trim exploit, a manly enterprise,
> To conjure tears up in a poor maid's eyes
> With your derision! None of noble sort
> Would so offend a virgin, and extort
> A poor soul's patience, all to make you sport.
> (*MND*, III.ii.157–61)

In *La Diane*, as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the menace of death is comically diverted, not only from the outside – obviously, the magical services of

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Elymant will be needed again – but from within, through absurd collocation and reversal. Fauste's speech of repentance and farewell to Diane pulls out all the pathetic stops ('Adieu, adieu nostre amour ancienne! / Adieu mon cœur!' (Adieu, our love of time long past, adieu! / Adieu, my heart!), only to fail bathetically to move its object: 'Meur si tu veux, ie n'en ay point soucy, / Puis que ie veux, helas, mourir aussi' (Die if you like – I don't care if you do. / For the sad truth is: I want to die too!).[61]

Despite the absence of stage directions and scene divisions in Montreux's original text (as is hardly unusual for the period), it is obvious that the action shifts regularly from one set of 'lovers' to another, and it is apparently on this note that these two exit, whether together or separately (probably the latter). The stage is thus cleared for the reappearance of Nymphis in search of Jullie. His exhaustion, like that of the solitary Hermia, 'Never so weary, never so in woe' (*MND*, III.ii.442), is at once physical and moral:

> Je suis lassé d'entourner ces forests,
> Ces prez, ces champs, & ces fascheux deserts,
> Pour rencontrer ma cruelle Iullye:
> La force m'est, helas presque faillie.
>
> (Of ranging in these forests I grow weary,
> In these meadows, fields and deserts so dreary;
> To meet my Julie in her cruelty,
> My strength, alas, is close to failing me.)[62]

Nymphis spends eighty lines or so expatiating on his double fatigue, abundantly proving just how 'condoling' a lover can be. The rhetorical pendulum swings in a narrow range from the force of love itself, which 'en rendant nostre ame miserable, / Dolente, triste & pleine de soucy / Rend nostre corps plein de trauaux aussi' (even as it makes our soul dejected, / Complaining, sorrowful, laden with care, / It gives our body travails hard to bear), to the obduracy of his love object, whom he reproaches in apostrophe for having no pity on 'mon ame, qui dolente / En tes liens trespasse languissante' (my soul, which groans its anguish, / Condemned in your bonds unto death to languish).[63] The conclusion involves, again, a surprising collocation, for although he is talking to the trees, like Orlando in his love poems – and indeed sounding like him ('And I to live and die her slave' (*AYL*, III.ii.154)) – his vivid expostulation might seem to herald the sight of his beloved:

> Tu seras donc, ô ma chere Iullie,
> Tousiours maistresse, & de ma triste vie,

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> Et de mon ame: & Nymphis te sera
> Tousiours amant, & ton serf il mourra.
>
> (And so, my dear Julie, you shall remain
> Mistress both of the life I lead in pain
> And of Nymphis's soul, which you might save:
> Loving you always, he will die your slave.)[64]

What follows instead is the entrance of Hector, with all his warrior's belligerence about him, determined, literally, to be Jullie's knight.

Indeed, when Lysander charges off 'To honor Helen, and to be her knight' (*MND*, II.ii.144), thus setting up his farcical (but potentially fatal) skirmishing with Demetrius, he metaphorically follows in the footsteps of Hector. The latter now confronts Nymphis – the absurdity is pushed quite as far as in Shakespeare – over the exclusive privilege of being Jullie's 'serf' (slave). Nymphis maintains his own right to 'l'honorer' (honour her)[65] and dispels Hector's scruples about matching his knighthood in combat against a mere shepherd. For it turns out that Nymphis also comes of knightly stock:

> Je suis pourtant sorty de gens d'elite,
> Et comme toy cheualier de merite:
> Mais cet habit i'ay pris pour librement
> Seruir Jullie, & estre son amant.
>
> (Yet know I am of superior birth,
> And with a knight like you I rank my worth.
> But by these clothes I gained the liberty
> To pledge the service of my love to Julie.)[66]

The quarrel in both plays builds towards physical confrontation – 'Now follow, if thou dar'st, to try whose right, / Of thine or mine, is most in Helena' (*MND*, III.ii.336–7); 'Sus, sus, auant: viuement combatons, / Et par l'acier noz amours disputons' (Come on, now, come on – let push come to shove, / And with cold steel let us dispute our love)[67] – at which point the comic outcome depends on urgent magical intervention: by Oberon, through Puck; by Elymant, whose power makes the rivals drop their swords and listen to a story that will reconcile them.

It will do so by means of a tried-and-true romance device that runs, with numerous ambages and branching tracks, from the *Menaechmi* to *The Comedy of Errors* and *Twelfth Night*: Nymphis, it turns out, is the long-lost twin-brother (here evidently a fraternal twin) for whom Hector has been searching throughout the world. One can see why Shakespeare would not have used such a gambit in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; it would merely have added a

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distracting complication, for no good reason, to the magical destabilisation and restoration of identities, although the convention arguably lingers, and serves as a source of irony, in the indistinguishability of the men as opposed to the women – this despite (and because of) Egeus' perverse differentiation of them, despite (and because of) the women themselves. In any case, the plots of Shakespeare and Montreux reconverge, in that Elymant must resume the function of Puck ('I'll apply / To your eye, / Gentle lover, remedy') by sorting out the love triangle: 'Nous donnerons remede à vostre amour' (Full solace for your love we'll send your way).[68] Before that happens, however, the fraternal reconciliation dips again into the stock material of romance and comes up with the same potential non-solution as in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*:[69] as Valentine confirms his friendship for Proteus by offering him 'All that was mine in Silvia' (*TGV*, V.iv.83), Hector's brotherly love induces him to declare, 'Ie veux Iullie à iamais te quitter' (I give up Julie forever to you), whereupon Nymphis follows suit: 'Ie te la quitte, & te la rens, helas!' (To you I yield and render her, alas!).[70] Their symmetrical renunciations and lengthy protestations are as extreme as their previous claims to her, and the absurdity of making their unwilling love object the object now of a rivalry of self-sacrifice needs to be pointed out by the magician: 'Que vous sert il de vous rendre ialoux / D'vn bien qui n'est aucunement à vous?' (What point is there in such a jealous stew / When the object doesn't belong to you?).[71] Obviously, the remedy must lie in the realm of love itself: Elymant undertakes to induce Jullie to marry one of them – she will choose Nymphis – and promises to free the other forever from his 'amoureuse rage' (love's obsession).[72]

Finally, only the latter act requires his magical art, in the form of a potion that, as if by a reawakening, removes the rejected Hector's 'memoire' ([r]emembrance) of his passion and thereby frees his soul from love's 'prison' (prison of emotion).[73] Indeed, in a move that gives the sense of the return to Athens, we are explicitly back in the realm of reason, which now keeps company with love after all. 'C'est la raison' (So reason requires),[74] pronounces Elymant resonantly, when Nymphis, despite his previous protestations, accepts happiness with Jullie even at his brother's expense. It is also insistently the realm of laws reestablished – of nature, of ancestry, of Hymen, of oaths that are binding even when induced by trickery. Fittingly, then, the final adjustments that untangle the *chaîne amoureuse* are effected by persuasion, administered to the still-erring women by the two supremely wise denizens of the pastoral world. Elymant and Arbuste here, though far removed from the amorous quarrels of Oberon and Titania, emerge with clarity as virtual Fairy King and Queen and, like them, shade into the governors of the daylight world.

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Arbuste expostulates with Diane against the living death of hopeless desire:

> ô cent fois mal-heureux
> L'esprit qui est d'aucun bien desireux,
> Qui ne se peut nourrir en esperance
> D'en obtenir quelque iour iouissance!
> Il meurt cent fois, & pendant sans mourir
> On l'apperçoit cruellement perir!
>
> (oh, buried deep in pain
> Is the mind obsessed with something to gain
> That cannot hope to better its condition
> By some day bringing longing to fruition!
> A hundred deaths it dies, though without dying;
> In cruel agony we see it lying!)[75]

The very deception that has bound her to Fauste stems from a higher wisdom – 'La tromperie en amour est sagesse' (It's wise in love to practise trickery) – and since 'les Dieux' (the gods)[76] have given her Fauste as a husband, she must reconcile herself:

> La foy, la loy, & le iuste serment,
> Doiuent sur nous auoir commandement:
> Faut que la loy nostre desir regisse,
> Et que nostre ame au serment obeisse.
>
> (Oaths that are duly sworn, with faith and law,
> Are needful means to keep us all in awe.
> By law our desire needs to be checked;
> Our soul to an oath must always be subject.)[77]

In this respect Diane, like Demetrius, remains under magical influence, trapped by the spell; but like him, too, she has returned to her first love and recognises her error:

> O trop cruelle inhumaine Diane!
> Où vit ta foy, ton amour ancienne,
> Que tu rendois à ton Fauste autrefois,
> Auparauant qu'en ces funestes bois
> Fust arriué Nymphis, dont le visage
> Changea ta foy, & mua ton courage?
>
> (O over-cruel, inhumane Diane!
> Where lives your faith, your past love, which began
> When for your Fauste you reckoned it as good,

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> In the days before to this gloomy wood
> Nymphis had ever made his way, whose face
> Changed your faith, of your feelings left no trace?)[78]

Fortunately, the recognition comes in time for her to save Fauste from the death by which he is planning to end his misery, and thereby dispels the last shadow of love's tragic potential. Fauste has definitively parted with his cup of sorrows.

By symmetrical contrast, Elymant remonstrates with Jullie in order to induce, if not desire, at least the renunciation of freedom from desire, submission to the laws of nature and of Hymen:

> Certes chacun par la loy des grands Dieux,
> Est obligé, viuant en ces bas lieux,
> De donner vie, essence, & nourriture
> A des enfans; de peur que la nature
> Vienne à faillir, & ce monde à perir,
> Qui sans Hymen seroit prest de mourir:
> C'est vne loy dont obligez nous sommes
> Aux Dieux puissans, puis que nous sommes hommes.
>
> (The great gods surely by their laws compel
> All those who in these lower regions dwell
> To give life, with being and nourishment,
> To children, out of fear that nature, spent,
> Should fail, this world succumb without supplying,
> Which, but for Hymen, would be close to dying.
> It is a law which cannot fail to bind
> Us to the potent gods as humankind.)[79]

Jullie's counter-argument here is one, essentially, for personal liberty – a point easier for the agent of comic resolution to refute, no doubt, than her devotion to divine love, which he has effectively just deflected. Now the discursive field overlaps with the competing claims of the 'earthlier happy … rose distill'd', as opposed to 'single blessedness' (*MND*, I.i.76, 78), which frame the action of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Elymant convinces her on the basis of 'le grand bien, & le contentement' (the great good and happiness)[80] belonging to married life, which brings children to comfort old age and perpetuate one's name after death. Her lineage – so he foresees by his art – will be especially glorious.

Thus the argument of Elymant, like the one Arbuste makes to Diane, finally comes down to the need to adapt desire to mortal limits. This is to clinch the irony of the incessant proclamations of 'immortelle foy' with which the lovers have invested their desire-driven mutability. It is also to validate and deepen,

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by anticipation, the cynical dismissal of Shakespeare's abettor of disorderly passion – 'Lord, what fools these mortals be!' (*MND*, III.ii.115) – before he is overruled by Oberon to ensure that 'Jack shall have Jill, / Naught shall go ill' (461–2). In Montreux, the reductive arithmetic of comic denouement is conspicuously applied, no less arbitrarily than in Shakespeare: 'Two of both kinds makes up four' (*MND*, III.ii.438). As for the left-over integer, it is simply to be expunged from the equation, and in these terms the magical erasure of Hector's amorous memory ironically foreshadows that of Bottom, whose dimly recollected love symbolically receives its own *coup de grâce* through the death of Pyramus, that 'poor knight' (V.i.277).

Shakespeare, unlike Montreux, leaves the last word, in the form of the subversive Epilogue, to the agent of love's disorder, the incorrigible companion of his master. First, however, Titania and Oberon bless the house. Likewise, Arbuste and Elymant conclude their respective curative interventions with benedictions, and, again, the terms overlap with those of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. From Elymant, pronouncing for the 'best bride-bed' (*MND*, V.i.403), comes a wish (here unflawed by irony) for 'fortunate' (406) issue – a wish attached to another for their journey 'homeward' from the pastoral world:

> Que de vous deux il descende vne race
> Qui des Heros le souuenir efface,
> Pour viure seule autour de l'vniuers,
> De Pallas digne, & de ses lauriers vers.
> Allez reuoir vostre douce patrie,
> Et là contens consommez vostre vie.
>
> (May you two prove the founders of a race
> That former heroes' glories will efface
> To spread through all the universe renown,
> Of Pallas worthy and her laurel crown.
> Go see again your gentle native country,
> And there complete your years contentedly.)[81]

From Arbuste, addressing Diane and Fauste, in whom mutable love has wrought most inward havoc, comes the wish, in effect, that they may 'Ever true in loving be' (*MND*, V.1.409): 'Et que iamais l'ardante ialousie, / N'arde voz cœurs ny vostre fantasie' (And never may fires of jealousy / Inflame your hearts or heat your fantasy).[82]

If Montreux's most original variation on the pastoral theme – the comic reverse-twisting of the *chaîne amoureuse* through Diane's disbelief – closely recalls Helena from several convergent angles, the point of pursuing this 'sign of the intertext' is less to proliferate possible borrowings than to chart

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the generic common ground, including its limits. Even the lexical overlap, after all, is closely tied to the deployment of similar conventional ideas and situations in both plays. With regard to those conventions themselves, moreover, Shakespeare would obviously have found himself in largely familiar territory, and we cannot hope to recover the process by which Montreux's dramatic development of them might have inflected their (re)presentation in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Shakespeare had already proved adept in manipulating analogous material elsewhere, as he would continue to do. Still, to put the issue in these terms is again to throw into relief the highly distinctive magically driven pastoral world of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* within his œuvre, hence to extend the play's illuminating relation to *La Diane* along that axis. The illumination, moreover, is reciprocal. For I hope also to have established that *La Diane* deserves, not just to be re-discovered as a literary curiosity, but to be read in its own right and on its own terms, as it was in its own day – by Shakespeare himself, surely, among others, who may well have included members of his audience.

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Deepening the tragic shadow

I wish now to rotate the play in hand slightly so as to present another facet for illumination by French intertexts. As with the pastoral dimension highlighted by *La Diane*, especially interesting are the implications for genre, and naturally there is overlap; I will be touching again on the pastoral aspect from another angle. This fresh set of intertexts, however, will chiefly serve to bring out the tragic potential of love affairs, which is also implicit in Montreux: in the classical love tragedies carved on the wooden cup, in the near-deadly duel between rivals, in Fauste poised on the cliff-edge. In Shakespeare's comedy, that potential is insisted on more strenuously from the outset, as a possible outcome of 'true love' whose 'course … never did run smooth' (*MND*, I.i.134), when Hermia must submit or die, and recalled to be purged at the conclusion, especially through the performance of the Pyramus and Thisbe pageant.

This discussion will thereby develop, from what I hope will prove a stimulating perspective, the relation of reversibility often perceived between *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and its nearly contemporary tragic counterpart, *Romeo and Juliet*, which at its own conclusion highlights the thwarting of comic potential (even in the absence of an inopportune lion) as an effect of simple bad timing – that is, finally, as an 'arbitrary' authorial choice. Clearly, the 'tragical mirth' (*MND*, V.i.57) of Pyramus and Thisbe bears significantly on generic reversibility, and I will be returning to it. But I will begin by proposing inflection of the framing comedy by two (interrelated) French *histoires*

tragiques – one of them credited with foundational status in establishing that genre.[83] Introducing these as intertexts will necessitate some textual background.

Virtually from its initial publication in 1594, the only fictional work of Marie le Jars de Gournay, indefatigable woman of letters and 'adoptive daughter' of Montaigne, to whom she dedicated the work as 'his' *Proumenoir* (i.e. *Promenade*, in the sense of a place where one walks), was criticised on the grounds of structural incoherence.[84] Especially in the earlier versions of this much-revised and republished work (for it proved extremely popular[85]), the narrative is interrupted by frequent authorial interventions, whether in the form of citations from the classics or of opinionated commentaries; the latter include a lengthy discourse (amounting to roughly a quarter of the whole) on Gournay's general theme of predilection, the equality of men and women. Such interventions predictably constitute, by contrast, a positive feature for recent criticism, which has detected a prototype of the modern novel, even a forerunner of *écriture féminine*.[86] And especially relevant to the approach I propose here is the image of interweaving that has been applied to it.[87]

My argument takes as its starting point Gournay's studied interweaving of her fable with two Latin texts, the *Aeneid*'s story of Dido and, in more sustained fashion, the so-called 'Epithalamium' of Catullus (numbered 64 in the standard editions) – an epyllion in which weaving also has its role to play. And as both background and sometimes foreground, I will take into account the derivation of that fable itself, in its essential elements, from a story found in a collection of forty years earlier, the *Discours des champs faëz* of Claude de Taillemont (1553). This work is an assemblage of orations, stories and songs on the theme of love whose own popularity justified at least five editions. The framing device for the two 'discours' (discourses) – the first dedicated 'à l'honneur des dames' (to the honour of ladies), the second 'à l'exaltation du vray amour' (to the exaltation of true love)[88] – involves an excursion by three young city-dwelling noblemen, incited by the idealistic Philaste's dream of Minerva, into the country, where they meet three beautiful maidens, including the wise lady Eumathe, who recalls the goddess of the dream and emerges as a virtual queen of fairies. For the setting is a fantastically imagined pastoral landscape: 'champs faëz' translates as 'fairy-enchanted fields' (the verb is 'féer', from 'fées'). An erotically charged garden, complete with labyrinth and central fountain, proves redolent of the supernatural: 'il n'y avoit chose qui ne sumontast le sens et entendement humain' (there was nothing that did not surmount human sense and understanding).[89] This, then, is the context for the tragic love story incorporated in, and concluding, the second *discours*;[90] it is a context which Gournay suppressed but which, as will be seen, hovers in the

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background of her narrative. And it, too, bears, as I will suggest, in a more than superficial way on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

A brief outline of the plot of *Le Proumenoir* is in order at the outset. (The significant deviations from Taillemont's version will be mentioned as they figure in the subsequent discussion.) Gournay's tragic heroine, Alinda, is a princess of Persia, daughter of a powerful satrap, for whom a marriage with the King of Parthia has been arranged as a condition of a peace treaty between the two states. She agrees to the match with great reluctance out of a sense of duty. In the course of the expedition, led by her father, to deliver her to her new husband, she makes the acquaintance, during a stopover, of a handsome young courtier named Léontin. The stopover is prolonged because of the satrap's illness, and the young couple fall in love. Despite her guilty feelings about betraying father and country, Alinda allows herself to be persuaded to marry Léontin and steal away with him by sea with the intention of taking refuge in Italy until her father may be propitiated. The ship is wrecked, however, on the coast of barbarous Thrace, and they are taken in by a local lord, Othalcus, who, though hospitable enough and relatively cultivated, develops an unruly passion for Alinda. When she refuses his advances, he conspires with his sister, Ortalde, who has fallen in love with Léontin, to break up the marriage. She succeeds in gaining Léontin's affection, then ensures that Alinda, who is now pregnant, discovers his infidelity. When she does so, she resolves on death. This she effects by pretending to agree to Othalcus' importuning, on condition that he have a certain meddlesome old woman of the household killed in her sleep. After writing a reproachful and pathetic letter to Léontes, she takes the woman's place and is mistakenly stabbed by the assassin sent by Othalcus for the purpose. Meanwhile, the letter is delivered, and when the body is discovered, Léontin rushes in, guilt-stricken and mad with grief, and kills himself. Othalcus and Ortalde go into mourning and have the couple's ashes placed in a common tomb.

Criticism seems to have caught on to the fact fairly recently,[91] but for contemporaries the *Proumenoir* must virtually have flaunted its origins in the *Discours* of Taillemont, whose most recent edition dated from 1585: not only did Gournay retain the name of the deceitful lover (Léontin) but she played cat-and-mouse with her reader (if not with Montaigne himself) on the question. She pretended in her introductory letter[92] to have forgotten the identity of the work that had inspired her, even as she also imitated Taillemont's own use of the Aesopian fable of the feather-stealing crow to assert her originality.[93] Her manoeuvres, which may well extend to falsifying the date of composition,[94] are pertinent here because they throw into relief an ideological reorientation of her source text that bears on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

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Taillemont resolutely presents himself as a champion of women, beginning with his subtitle. Like Gournay, he even maintains, through his spokesman Philaste, the equality of the sexes before God, hence the right and need of women to be educated alike.[95] Moreover, the narrative largely anticipates the suffering and courage of Gournay's heroine Alinda. There is a major contradiction, however, with the moral he draws, and this points to a radical change between the original and Gournay's retelling.[96] For Taillemont, in keeping with the double message of the chivalric and amorous ideals he professes, offers up his heroine Laurine, conspicuously driven to death by masculine perfidy, as an example from which his audience of '[m]es-demoiselles assez subjettes à mutation' (young ladies rather inclined to mutability) may learn how to remain 'constantes et loyales en amitié' (constant and loyal in amorous friendship).[97] More broadly, the Platonising pretensions of the *Discours* are riddled with incoherence and naïveté on the subject of male–female relations. This has certainly been noted by modern critics; Gabriel-André Pérouse, for instance, accuses Philaste of confusing selfish desire and selfless adoration, mystical love and 'feminism' – even, with regard to the faculty of sight (a point hardly irrelevant to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), 'contemplation platonicienne et voyeurisme' (Platonic contemplation and voyeurism).[98] Evidently, Gournay had a similar response.

Thus, in appropriating the *histoire tragique*, Gournay insists first and foremost on male inconstancy. This she does largely through her classical citations, which serve especially to assimilate her heroine to two archetypal victims of treacherous men.[99] Dido, whom Montreux briefly pictures in a 'dolans' (lamenting) vein,[100] is here several times evoked with point and poignancy through allusions to the fourth book of Virgil's epic. The victim in the poem of Catullus is Ariadne, who makes for a still more telling parallel, since, like Alinda, she is a young girl who flees the authority of her father to follow her lover – and since Theseus, unlike Aeneas, is notorious, thanks to various legends, as an abuser of women.

The nominal occasion for and subject of Catullus' Epithalamium is the mythical wedding of Peleus and the sea-goddess Thetis, but this theme gives way, after fifty or so verses, to the history of the unhappy love of Ariadne, abandoned on the shore of a desert island by the man for whom she had risked everything. The representation of her emotions dominates this celebrated work, which served as a model for Virgil in depicting Dido, but also for Ovid in various places, especially for the complaint of Ariadne developed in Letter 10 ('Ariadna Theseo') of the *Heroïdes* (or *Epistulae Heroidum*).[101] The link between Ariadne and Dido was also widespread in the early modern period, and in evoking them, Gournay must have been thinking of the *Essais* of her

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'father', for whom, as Jean-Claude Arnould has observed, they served as the 'parangons du pathétique' (paragons of the pathetic):[102]

> Ainsi nous troublent l'ame les plaintes des fables; et les regrets de Didon et d'Ariadné passionnent ceux mesmes qui ne les croyent point en Virgile et en Catulle.
>
> (So do the plaints and fables of trouble vex our mindes: and the wailing laments of *Dydo*, and *Arriadne* passionate even those, that beleeve them not in *Virgill*, nor in *Catullus*.)[103]

Gournay's principal 'digression' takes off from her longest citation from the Epithalamium, which she employs to embellish the last thoughts of Alinda. The heroine has just finished writing her reproachful letter to Léontin before setting in motion the chain of events designed to produce her death. Gournay interpolates this extract from Ariadne's complaint:

> Nullane res potuit crudelis flectere mentis
> Consilium? tibi nulla fuit clementia praesto
> Immite ut nostri uellet miserescere pectus?
> At non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti
> Voce mihi, non hoc miseram spectare iubebas,
> …
> Tunc iam nulla uiro iuranti femina credat,
> Nulla uiri speret sermones esse fideles:
> Quis dum aliquid cupiens animus praegestit apisci,
> Nil metuunt iurare, nihil promittere parcunt:
> Sed simul ac cupidae mentis satiata libido est,
> Dicta nihil metuere, nihil periuria curant.
>
> (Could nothing soften the intent of your cruel mind? Was no mercy present in you to induce your hard heart to have pity on me? Yet these were not the promises you once gave me with your coaxing voice, nor did you say that I would have to witness this, wretched as I am. … Then henceforth let no woman believe a man when he swears oaths; let none hope that a man's vows are sincere. As long as someone, driven by desire, is eager to obtain something, men do not shrink at swearing, they spare no promises. But as soon as the passion of their lustful thought is satisfied, they respect nothing of what they have said; they care nothing for their perjuries.)[104]

There follows Gournay's pungent commentary, which begins with the affirmation, 'Ces vers de la chetiue Ariadné deuroient estre escrits par tout dans les heures des dames' (These verses of the wretched Ariadne should be written everywhere in women's Books of Hours).[105] Undoubtedly, Gournay felt encouraged, rightly or wrongly, to address this virtual manifesto to

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Montaigne by the fact that her 'father' had himself cited the same passage from the Epithalamium in illustrating women's vulnerability to men:

> Nostre maistrise et entiere possession leur est infiniement à craindre: depuis qu'elles sont du tout rendues à la mercy de nostre foy et constance, elles sont un peu bien hasardées. Ce sont vertus rares et difficiles: soudain qu'elles sont à nous, nous ne sommes plus à elles:
>
> *postquam cupidae mentis satiata libido est,*
> *Verba nihil metuere, nihil perjuria curant.*
>
> (Our mastery and absolute possession, is infinitely to bee feared of them: After they have wholy yeelded themselves to the mercy of our faith and constancy, they have hazarded something: They are rare and difficult vertues: so soone as they are ours, we are no longer theirs.
>
> …
>
> The lust of greedy minde once satisfied,
> They feare no words; nor reke othes falsified.)[106]

Gournay's evocation of the text of Catullus does more than merely reinforce the theme of masculine inconstancy. It distances her work from the genre of the *histoire tragique* in a way that draws it closer to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. For the poem puts the ultimate blame for Ariadne's tragedy squarely on eros itself as a force deceiving both men and women:

> Ah misera, adsiduis quam luctibus exsternauit
> Spinosas Erycina serens in pectore curas
> Illa tempestate, ferox quo ex tempore Theseus
> Egressus curuis e litoribus Piraei
> Attigit iniusti regis Gortynia tecta.
>
> (Ah, unhappy girl, whom Erycina [i.e., Venus] then alarmed with incessant sorrows, sowing thorny cares in her breast, from the time when fierce Theseus, having set forth from the curving shores of Piraeus, arrived at the dwelling of the unjust Gortinian king [i.e., Minos of Crete].)[107]

The view that a woman's fall into a man's power follows from a fall into that of love itself is commonplace; certainly it matches Gournay's second classical intertext, Virgil's representation of Dido:

> At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura
> vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.
> multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat
> gentis honos: haerent infixi pectore vultus
> verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.

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(But the queen, already wounded by severe care, nourishes her hurt with her veins and is seized by secret fire. The great courage of the man's spirit and the great honour of his race constantly preoccupy her. His countenance and words remain fixed within her breast, and her troubled thought denies repose to her body.)[108]

These, then, are the salient models for the insidious growing love of Alinda for Léontin: 'la forme, le geste, l'esprit, & la vaillance de luy remplissent à coup son imagination' (his form, gestures, spirit, and valor flooded into her imagination).[109] But it is specifically Catullus who associates such passion with a cruel fall from idyllic young maidenhood, as in the first passage cited by Gournay when she introduces her heroine:

uirgo
Regia, quam suauis exspirans castus odores
Lectulus, in molli complexu matris alebat,
Quales Eurotae progignunt flumina myrtos
Aurave distinctos educit verna colores.

(the royal virgin, whose chaste little bed, exhaling sweet odours, nurtured her in a soft maternal embrace, as the streams of Eurotas beget the myrtles or the breeze of springtime brings forth varied colours.)[110]

The destructive effect of eros extends, as much as in Virgil as in Catullus, beyond the death of their heroines: the curse of Dido will find fulfilment in Hannibal's offensive against Rome;[111] that of Ariadne will be accomplished within the text, when Theseus unwittingly provokes the suicide of his father Aegeus. Gournay, far from having eliminated this element, as is sometimes maintained,[112] makes it part of her tragedy of erotic passion, and in a way beyond her precursor text. For while both Laurine and Alinda seek to awaken the conscience of their erstwhile lovers by provoking their own deaths at the hands of the barbarian who had hoped to seduce them, Gournay's heroine is also carrying Léontin's child. Thus in the *Proumenoir* the grief and shame of the lover are more fully developed than in the *Discours*. Moreover, these emotions invest the *histoire tragique* ending with a redemptive aspect. Instead of simply fleeing the barbarian's wrath and meeting an accidental death, like Léontin in Taillemont, Gournay's flawed hero sufficiently recovers loyalty and dignity to achieve a plausibly amorous suicide:

il s'en donne violamment dans le coeur, & chasse d'vn coup son ame reioindre celle de sa dame. Le corps tombe a costé d'Alinda, les plaies ioinctes, qui sembloient amoureusement s'entre-accueillir & ce nouveau sang, chaut & bouillant, voulloir r'animer l'autre par son infusion.

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(he struck himself violently in the heart and with one blow sent his soul to join that of his lady. The body fell at Alinda's side; the wounds, joining, seemed lovingly to welcome each other, and this new blood, hot and steaming, seemed to wish to reanimate the other by its infusion.)[113]

The extreme brutality of the couple's death (and Alinda's is evoked in horrific detail), is thereby transformed into a renewal of their relation at a higher level. They transcend their mutual destruction, and the genre of *histoire tragique*, to become, like Romeo and Juliet, Pyramus and Thisbe, Antony and Cleopatra, martyrs to love itself. Thus, in the place of the isolated monument of Laurine described by Taillemont, Gournay grants their mingled ashes a common tomb, erected by those who had brought about their downfall, and a transcendentalising benediction:

Vas en paix couple saincte, en nos pleurs arrousée:
Il n'y a plus de glaiue à percer vn beau col:
Pour soubstraire vn amant il n'y a plus de dol:
L'amour, Tyran au monde, est Dieu dans l'Helisée.

(Go in peace, holy couple, sprinkled with our tears.
There is no longer any sword a fair neck to pierce;
To steal away a lover, there remains no stratagem.
Love, a tyrant in the world, is God in Elysium.)[114]

Both textually and intertextually (as will be seen more clearly), the question of identifying the 'true' Elysium resonates at the tragic conclusion. Gournay's characters, both masculine and feminine, are subjected to erotic desire to the point of being blinded, temporarily but profoundly, to the dimensions and consequences of their actions. Correspondingly, the shallow amorous manoeuvres found in Taillemont are made psychologically self-subverting. The loss of emotional control experienced by Alinda is a world away from Laurine's calculating self-possession, as she angles (however short-sightedly) for possession of Léontin: 'Certes, mon amy, si vous saviez congnoitre la part qu'avez en moy, vous ne seriez content voir autruy par force jouissant de ce qui vous est de gré offert' (Certainly, my friend, if you knew how to recognise the part that you possess in me, you would not be pleased to see someone else by force enjoying what is freely offered you).[115] And whereas the Léontin of Taillemont is merely a smug courtier, Gournay's is at once egotistical and naive. Moreover, his passion is fuelled by an imaginary rivalry with the man who is supposed to marry Alinda, in a virtual textbook illustration of the 'mimetic desire' that René Girard has convincingly traced in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:[116]

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> ceste imagination de la felicité d'autruy, se conuertit, sinon de prime face en ialousie, au moins en vn desplaisir … & ce desplaisir peu à peu, deuient tout a faict douleur & tourment.
>
> (that imagining of another's felicity was transformed, if not to outright jealousy, at least to an unhappiness … and that unhappiness, little by little, became thorough misery and torment.)[117]

In an ironic realisation of the words with which his prototype in Taillemont signs his love letter 'Celui qui vous decevant, decevroit soy-mesme' (He who, in deceiving you, would deceive himself)[118] – the Léontin of Gournay deceives Alinda precisely because he is the dupe of his own emotions: 'Si n'osoit-il encore s'aduouer à luy mesme que ce qui le blessoit, fust vne atteinte d'amour …' (Yet he did not yet dare to admit to himself that what was hurting him was an attack of love …).[119] Finally, the fact that the lovers of the *Proumenoir* actually (if rather perfunctorily) marry, while in the *Discours* the Princess gives herself to Léontin 'sous le voile de futur mariage' (on the pretext of future marriage),[120] has not only moral but psychological implications for both. It also complicates the desire of the amorous barbarian Othalcus, compared with his equivalent in Taillemont. For Othalcus is himself represented as a lover in the grip of illusions, unlike Sador, a crude instrument of sexual impulse, who, on first encountering Laurine, 'n'oublioit à caresser la Princesse' (did not neglect to caress the princess).[121]

Perhaps Gournay's boldest stroke in adapting Taillemont – boldest because it risks calling in question her own role as champion of women – is to implicate in the tyranny of love even Ortalde, Alinda's rival, who is led by her passion for Léontin to join her brother Othalcus in a plot to break the love of the couple. Female jealousy also manifests itself amply in the final thoughts of Alinda herself:

> Ie m'enuois auant que ta nouuelle espouse m'y contraigne … avant que Leontin ait la peine de prier Ortalde qu'elle pardonne à la miserable Alinda, d'auoir autrefois changé l'Empire de Perse à vne nacelle, & le rogne à la servitude, pour se dire sa femme.
>
> (I dispatch myself before your new wife compels me to … before Leontin has the trouble of begging Ortalde to forgive wretched Alina for having once given up the Empire of Persia for a little boat, and power for servitude, in order to call herself his wife.)[122]

On this point Gournay's version contrasts sharply with the *Discours*, in which the sister of Sador not only is ignorant of Léontin's passion for her, as well as his manoeuvres to realise it, but even shows friendly loyalty to Alinda: 'de

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saine amour l'aymoit et rien ne savoit de tout [*sic*] l'affaire'[123] (with honest love she loved her and knew nothing at all of the business). Paradoxically, it is Taillemont who here furnishes a model of female loyalty, while Gournay shows women as, in effect, 'assez subjettes à mutation' – that is, precisely, as desiring human *subjects* rather than ideal constructs.

At the same time, the *Proumenoir* enlarges what figures in Taillemont as the simple 'eschange et permutation des Dames'[124] (exchange and interchange of women) so as to construct a symmetrical structure in which the two sexes are equally implicated, thanks to the ravages of female desire and associated emotions. The troubles of Taillemont's characters are caused by lapses from valid amorous and chivalric codes, not by the codes themselves. Thus he makes his Léontin a spoiler, a 'parjure et desloyal ami' (perjured and disloyal lover), who sneaks into the temple of Love to 'prendre et piller les choses saintes et sacrées qui y sont, pour après les vendre, engager et permuter comme chose profane' (take and pillage the holy and sacred objects found there, in order afterwards to sell, pawn and exchange them like things profane);[125] the picture is endorsed in the reproachful farewell letter of Laurine ('un parjure et desloyal amant' (a perjured and disloyal lover).[126]

By contrast, in the mind of Alinda at the same fateful point, the 'parjure et desloyal ami' is transformed into Love itself:

> Certes si tu sçauoi[s] bien vn art de changer l'amour tu en sçauois bien vn de luy resister aussi, mais que ne m'apprenois-tu ceste recepte par pitié.
>
> (No doubt, if you so well knew an art for changing love, you equally knew one for resisting it; oh, that you did not, for pity's sake, teach me that formula.)[127]

Both sexes encounter all the more danger, then, in idealising passion. Women become its victims, as men its destructive instruments, against their wills. It is a view that closely matches, in tragic terms, the parodic tyrannies of love in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: only the men change the objects of their desire, but the desires of the women possess equal agency – and that from the beginning, when Helena betrays her girlhood friend and follows Demetrius, who has already betrayed her.

Such a perspective complicates the 'feminism' of Gournay. Having founded her principal digression on the tendency of women to become victims of men, she quickly redirects the discussion towards furnishing women with the intellectual resources necessary to resist their own passions, as well as the superficial attractions of men, including titles and riches. The vulnerability of women stems from their ignorance and social subordination, as well as from their bodies – the point made starkly by the pregnancy of Alinda. Gournay

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thereby distances herself as much from the 'exaltation' of women in general as from the need for male approval. As always in Gournay's case, a higher cause is to be understood: her own idealism rises above all things material (including sexual difference) to engage the principle – widespread at the time, no doubt, but also key to her personal kinship with Montaigne – of spiritual and intellectual union. This is indeed, for her, to glimpse the Elysian fields. Hence her disdain for the deluded eroticism of Léontin when he launches himself on his seaborne honeymoon – to which she adds an especially sinister augury by evoking, through the language of Ovid's Tereus (himself a Thracian barbarian), the rape of Philomele:

> Eslargis donc qu'ils sont en pleine mer,
> 'Vicimus', exclamat, 'mecum mea vota feruntur.'
> Leontin, nouveau mary, n'eust pas craint de soustenir que les champs Elysiens estoient transferez en la Mer.
>
> (At liberty, then, as they were on the high seas,
> We have prevailed, he exclaims, my wishes are carried with me.
> Leontin, the new husband, would not have shrunk from affirming that the Elysian fields had been translated to the sea.)[128]

As is pointed out by Arnould,[129] this is also an ironic allusion to the evocation of the Elysian fields by Taillemont. For in the cause of maintaining her higher idealism, Gournay thoroughly demystifies the superficially fantastic world created by her predecessor. The 'promenade' where Gournay recounts her tale to Montaigne might structurally recall the paradisal gardens of the *Discours* of Taillemont. But this parallel, besides underlining the appropriation of the narrative by a female voice, effectively signals also the dispersal of Elysian resonances. In Taillemont, they are insistent, although dependent on human sight and judgement, as the wise Eumathe expresses it: 'il faut voir d'avantage, à celle fin que vous jugez si nous sommes logées ès champs Elisées, ou non' (it is necessary to see further, in order that you may judge whether we are lodged in the Elysian fields or not).[130] Her interlocutor replies cautiously: 'Je ne say, madame … quelle comparaison faire de ce lieu cy aux champs Elisiens, car onques n'y ay esté, mais j'ose bien dire, suyvant le rapport de ma veue, que nous sommes aux champs faeez' (I do not know, Madam … what comparison to make between these fields and the Elysian ones, for I have never been there; but I dare to say, according to what my sight tells me, that we are in enchanted fields).[131]

There is an intimation here that the sight of mortals may be deceived by desire, as is also implied by Taillemont's labyrinth, covered with branches interwoven in 'façon de coeur'(the manner of hearts).[132] That labyrinth

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must be traversed in order to arrive at the fountain of Eumathe, symbolic of the spiritual ideal, but the going is not easy: 'plus on alloit avant, moins se trouvoit l'avansé; de sorte que cuidant estre dedans, l'on se trouvoit bien souvent dehors' (the further one went forward, the less one found oneself ahead; so that, supposing oneself within, one often found oneself outside).[133] According to the persuasive reading of Arnould, the point is that '[c]e soverain bien est inaccessible en ce monde' (that sovereign good is inaccessible in this world), but the labyrinth nevertheless remains a *locus amoenus* where one can acquire a taste for the celestial fruit, even if the desire doubles the frustration, in keeping with a sort of 'idéalisme pessimiste absolu' (absolute pessimistic idealism).[134]

Gournay shows Taillemont's literal labyrinth, which has nothing to do with Theseus, overwritten by a metaphorical one, darkly inscribed within human relations. Its sole fruit comes from the Tree of Knowledge, and it hides at its heart a virtual Minotaur – supposedly the king of the Parthians, to whom Alinda's father would sacrifice her, but in reality her apparent rescuer.[135] Such, too, is the predicament of Ariadne, who aids Theseus to escape from her father's labyrinth only to find herself finally trapped within another metaphorical one:

> An patris auxilium sperem, quemne ipsa reliqui
> Respersum iuuenem fraterna caede secuta?
> Conjugis an fido consoler memet amore,
> Quine fugit …?

(Might I hope for aid from my father, whom I myself abandoned, having followed a youth blood-stained from my brother's slaughter? Or console myself with the faithful love of a spouse, who is fleeing?)[136]

In the *Proumenoir*, that discovery is likewise presented as a cruel awakening. In contrast with Laurine, Alinda does not learn at second hand of the aberrant passion of Léontin. On the contrary, she is made a witness of it despite herself, first indirectly, then directly. The description of this process continues to be enriched intertextually by that of Ariadne, who literally awakens to discover herself abandoned, even if she can scarcely believe her eyes:

> Necdum etiam sese quae uisit uidere credit,
> Vt pote fallaci quae tunc primum excita somno
> Desertam in sola miseram se cernat harena.

(Not yet can she even believe she is seeing what she sees, as, hardly awakened from a most deceitful sleep, she perceives herself deserted, wretched, on the lonely sands.)[137]

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Having put several intertexts in circulation, I wish now to reposition *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at the centre of the discursive space. Increasingly, from the later twentieth century on, and with the support of feminist approaches, the traditional heroic and wise image of the figure of Theseus in Shakespeare's play has been thoroughly challenged, if not demolished.[138] That discussion does not seem to have extended to the Epithalamium of Catullus, presumably because its portrayal of the personage offers no concrete element beyond those demonstrably closer to the playwright's hand, notably *The Knight's Tale* of Chaucer and Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, the latter no doubt consulted in the translation of Thomas North, which was based on that of Jacques Amyot.[139] Certainly, Plutarch retails numerous stories regarding Theseus' mistreatment of women, anticipating the faith-breaking attributed to Titania's influence by the jealous Oberon:

> Didst not thou lead him through the glimmering night
> From Perigenia, whom he ravished?
> And make him with fair Aegles break his faith,
> With Ariadne, and Antiopa?
>
> (*MND*, II.i.77–80)

As regards Ariadne, however, stark abandonment is not the only version of her fate reported by Plutarch, and one account actually portrays Theseus sympathetically.[140]

Shakespeare's allusion clearly privileges, as does Gournay, the legend that had become dominant since Catullus and Ovid. And that the allusion is more than a passing one has been demonstrated by Mary Ellen Lamb, who argues that the play develops a sustained evocation of the legend of Theseus and the Minotaur, and who parallels Ariadne's elopement with Theseus to that of Hermia. In particular, she finds that the latter's terrified waking in the wood, when she discovers herself abandoned by Lysander (*MND*, II.ii.144 ff.), recalls the representation of Ariadne in the *Ars Amatoria*.[141]

Pace Lamb, the first-person lament in *Heroïdes* 10 recalls Hermia's awakening more closely than does the *Ars Amatoria*. In the latter, Ovid describes Ariadne distantly and simply as wandering on the beach, calling out Theseus' name to the heedless waves, her dress and hair disordered 'utque erat e somno' (as coming from sleep);[142] a few lines later she is taken as a partner by the god Bacchus. By contrast, the pathetic and elaborate version in the *Heroïdes* has her awakening by moonlight and at first supposing Theseus is with her – an oblique but telling precedent for Hermia's dream of the serpent. Her subsequent distraction is vividly evoked. This matches

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Catullus' succinct version (previously cited), which likewise highlights the deceptive quality of Ariadne's sleep and her sheer bewilderment on waking.

Even if Ovid's treatments were themselves indebted to the Epithalamium,[143] Shakespeare's confirmed familiarity with that poet would make him the obvious candidate for transmission of the legend.[144] Gournay herself demonstrably drew on the *Heroïdes* to enrich the pathos of Alinda's situation.[145] More generally, the influence of Catullus is not often detected in Shakespeare.[146] Paradoxically, however, the near-absence of the Roman poet as an intertextual presence elsewhere may actually strengthen the case for his importance here. For there is one unique feature of Catullus' version – thoroughly exploited by Gournay – that strikingly matches the fundamental structure of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: only in Catullus is the tragic result of Theseus' perfidy associated, in profoundly ironic fashion, with a noble wedding – the occasion *par excellence* of comic fulfilment. To the extent that a similar irony informs the relation between the tangled adventures of the young lovers and the framing device of the wedding of Theseus and Hippolyta, there is even more reason than is sometimes detected – and indeed staged in Hippolyta's performance – to find tragic resonances inflecting the celebratory affirmations at the opening. Nor, for that matter, is that pattern alien to the model that is more openly evoked. In *The Knight's Tale*, after all, the same festivities are brusquely interrupted (and consummation deferred) by the queens mourning their lost husbands.[147]

In interweaving the tragedy of Ariadne with that of her heroine, Gournay effectively appropriated the structure of the Epithalamium and the irony built into it. In the poem of Catullus, the legend of Theseus and Ariadne is also introduced indirectly, by way of an ekphrasis describing the tapestry where the legend is embroidered. That tapestry covers the nuptial bed of Peleus and Thetis, which constitutes the trajectory of the framing action, as does the 'best bride-bed' (*MND*, V.i.403) of Shakespeare's comedy. The foretaste of the wedding and the praise of the splendidly decorated palace give way, through the image of Ariadne, to an interior narrative that subverts and displaces the framing one – again, an effect comparable to that of what is technically the subplot in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Gournay notably recuperates from Ariadne's tragedy, as Catullus presents it, an element far less developed in the versions of Ovid but essential, as has been shown, to her rewriting of Taillemont: the tyrannical power of love. Thus the narrator's expression of helpless compassion for the emotional involvement of Alinda leads her naturally to cite Catullus' attribution of responsibility, and expression of pity, for that of Ariadne:

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> Mais ce n'est pas mon gibier d'escrire le progrez de l'amour de ceste pauure femme. … il me suffit de le plaindre.
>
> Heu miserae exagitans immiti corde furores,
> Sancte puer, curis hominum qui gaudia misces.
>
> (But it is not my aim to describe the progression of this poor woman's love; … it is enough for me to pity it.
>
> Alas, sacred boy, stirring up the wretched woman's frenzies with a pitiless heart, you who mingle human joys with cares.)[148]

This point, too, resonates seriously beneath Shakespeare's comic surface. Well before Puck's erratic interventions, with their potentially catastrophic results, Helena's self-introductory soliloquy blames her own doting and Demetrius' betrayal of her squarely on the 'boy Love' who is 'perjur'd every where' (*MND*, I.i.241). And when Hermia, who, like Ariadne and Alinda, has forsaken home and family (though notably not virginity, despite Lysander's importuning), awakes from one nightmare into another, she calls on her lover in the name 'of all loves' (II.ii.154). Unwittingly, she thus invokes the 'knavish lad' who delights 'to make poor females mad' (III.ii.440).

In Catullus, the ironic circulation of meaning between the framing and interior narratives is enriched by a provocative relation between past and present. The marriage takes place in the Golden Age, the epoch of heroes. We are told in celebratory tones how Peleus encountered Thetis during the very first venturing of mortals on the sea, the voyage of the Argonauts. To evoke the myth, however, is inevitably to complicate the present happy occasion. Peleus, like Theseus, had a dubious past with regard to women, and close behind the narrative lies the legend that he defeated Thetis in a physical struggle – in effect, 'won [her] love doing [her] injuries' (*MND*, I.i.17). Moreover, in evoking the decision of Zeus to make this marriage, Catullus recalls that the god suppressed his own desire for Thetis for fear of the prophecy that her child would overcome his father.[149] From the outset, therefore, darker shadows from both past and future obtrude on the comic present, which is then radically dislocated by unequivocal tragedy: the ill-destined sea voyages of Theseus and Ariadne. The story woven into the bedspread is itself both backward- and forward-looking, prophecy already given form and shape, and, by the time Catullus recounts it, long since fulfilled.

Such weaving inevitably recalls the Parcae, who actually make their appearance at the conclusion of the poem, engaged in their eternal weaving, to chant a return to comedy: the happiness of the newlyweds and the glorious future of their son. That son will be Achilles, at once divine and (despite his mother's

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efforts) mortal. For, the human guests having departed, it is finally the turn of the gods to attend the celebration and supply their benediction. An analogous epilogue, of course, is appended to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, where the fairies invite themselves, unbeknownst to the mortals, and bless the new couples, especially Theseus and Hippolyta. Yet in both works, the sombre side of mortality in general, and of mortal love in particular, is again evoked – the potential for tragedy, like that of Romeo and Juliet, or of Alinda and Léontin, who earn a very different sort of benediction: '*Vas en paix couple saincte, en nos pleurs arrousée*' (Go in peace, holy couple, sprinkled with our tears).

It is Puck himself, the stand-in for Cupid – childish, mischievous but irresistibly potent – who begins by recalling for spectators the anguish belonging to the mortal state: 'the screech-owl, / Screeching loud, / Puts the wretch that lies in woe / In remembrance of a shroud' (*MND*, V.i.376–9). This is ominous context, to say the least, for the promise attached by the fairies to the offspring of the ducal couple, who supposedly '[e]ver shall be fortunate' (405–6). The irony regarding Hippolytus is often noted.[150] But it is also enhanced intertextually by the ambiguous praise offered in the Epithalamium of Achilles, the son of Peleus and Thetis. Catullus' Parcae chant his glory in funereal and murderous terms, citing the multitudes he will kill, the destruction of Troy, the brutal sacrifice of Polyxena. Their resounding affirmation, 'Nullus amor tali conjunxit foedere amantes / Qualis adest Thetidi, qualis concordia Peleo' (Never did love join lovers by such fair bonds as the concord uniting Thetis and Peleus),[151] hardly effaces the impression that this mixed marriage – mortal/immortal – made in the midst of human violence and divine jealousy – serves as a model for the immortal comedy that degenerates into the tragedy of mortality, always already present. Well before the poem concludes with the lament of the narrator that the gods no longer visit mankind because of humanity's moral degeneration ('Omnia fanda nefanda malo pernixta furore' (All things good and ill mixed by wicked frenzy),[152] the myth of the Golden Age has become as illusory as those supernatural forces that turn aside the tragic tendencies of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and make possible an awakening from nightmare into fairy-tale fulfilment.

From this point of view, the 'tragical mirth' (*MND*, V.i.57) of the Pyramus and Thisbe pageant depends, as Lamb has effectively shown, not on Bottom's being 'translated' (III.i.118–19) into an ass but on the translation of the Minotaur – the devouring monster at the heart of the erotic labyrinth – into Bottom.[153] That Minotaur the play's Theseus could not have slain, any more than he could expunge '[w]ith pomp, with triumph, and with revelling' (I.i.19) the dynamic from which his own 'injuries' to Hippolyta proceeded. For behind them lie those that he had inflicted on other women – by the

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supernatural influence of Titania, according to Oberon, and so presumably despite himself. But then the Fairy Queen, with her jealousy and desire, herself enacts erotic passions that likewise seem thoroughly natural. So do the lovers in the wood, supernaturally manipulated or not. Certainly, what we see in them confirms that 'The course of true love never did run smooth' (I.i.132–5), but it does so not just in terms of plot but in a way that subverts any assurance that the three – or any – couples will be '[e]ver true in loving' (V.i.408).

In concluding this part of the discussion, let me again move the *Discours* of Taillemont briefly into the foreground. In the first section of this chapter, I proposed Montreux's *La Diane* as a model for certain of Shakespeare's pastoral plot devices and elements of character, including the quasi-magical changes of love interest. Wholly absent from this picture is the mainspring of *A Midsummer Night*'s amorous intrigue – namely, the desperate act of elopement to escape paternal opposition and enforced marriage. The motif is, of course, commonplace, with variations – witness Pyramus and Thisbe, Romeo and Juliet. And Gournay naturally takes it over from Taillemont. But as it happens, there are associated points on which *A Midsummer Night's Dream* more directly engages the *Discours*, not merely the tale itself, but its framework. It is that framework which actually supplies, as a destination for genteel refugees from the city in quest of 'vray amour', a labyrinth presided over by quasi-fairies who deceive both the sight and the heart.[154]

To return to the elopement motif in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, it is possible to detect, beneath the sympathetic surface, a touch of the disingenuous in Lysander's proposition – just enough to recall less honest seducers elsewhere. For he proposes this notably un-smooth course to Hermia as if it conformed to her conclusion – 'Then let us teach our trial patience' (*MND*, I.i.155) – about the inevitable obstacles to 'true love'. To answer, 'A good persuasion; therefore hear me' (156), introduces at least a deflection, if not a negation, of the resolution of patience. Moreover, he follows by mitigating the risk with a curious detail – curious because it might seem to indicate a substantial plot element that is never mentioned again:

> I have a widow aunt, a dowager,
> Of great revenue, and she hath no child.
> From Athens is her house remote seven leagues;
> And she respects me as her only son.
> There, gentle Hermia, may I marry thee;
> And to that place the sharp Athenian law
> Cannot pursue us. If thou lovest me, then
> Steal forth thy father's house to-morrow night.
> (157–64)

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Given the numerous detours that immediately intervene, a spectator is hardly likely to notice the disappearance of this aunt, much less to ask if she really exists. Still, the detail constitutes a classic case of an 'ungrammaticality' pointing to an intertext, for at least some contemporaries of Shakespeare are likely to have recalled the words of Taillemont's (though not Gournay's) Léontin in similar circumstances – that is, at the moment when he is persuading Laurine to fly with him to a destination that will prove equally unattainable:

> J'ay une mienne tante au royaume du Pont, riche et puissante Dame, laquelle pres-que impotente de vieillesse, m'a jà plusieurs fois mandé pour prendre l'heritage et possession de ses terres; si le trouvez bon, nous aurons cette nuit prochaine une petite barque.
>
> (I have an aunt in the kingdom of Pontus, a rich and powerful lady, who, being almost incapacitated by old age, has already summoned me many times to take up the inheritance and possession of her lands; if you like the plan, tonight a little boat will be provided.)[155]

If we follow the (non-labyrinthine) thread of this resemblance, we find ourselves recuperating, as part of a reading of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, some aspects of the *Discours* that Gournay effectively replaced in her rewriting by her long digression on male–female equality, obviously reacting against the moral attached to the story of Laurine and perhaps, more broadly, against Taillemont's hollow idealism. Yet in the framing narrative of the first part of the *Discours*, Philaste launches into a long and vehement defence of women that bears particularly on the elopement in his tale and multiply engages *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

In this passage, the conventional codes on which Shakespearean (and much other) romantic comedy is based – love-at-first-sight, enforced marriage – are examined for their tragic effects in practice. Philaste virtually analyses in social terms his own initial dazzled response to the delights of the 'champs faëz' – namely, that 'Il ne faut demander en quel estat estoit le cœur, puisque l'œil se trouvoit tant empesché' (One must not ask what state the heart was in, since the eye found itself so hindered).[156] The lesson to be drawn, he now proposes, is that the eye is 'deceu et troublé d'affections' (deceived and troubled by affections), such that it may impose 'chose bien souvent par trop dommageable' (quite often something all too injurious).[157] The case of Titania and Bottom almost seems designed to make this point.

As for fathers making matches for their children, Philaste continues, too many behave blindly, foolishly and – this is the salient point – contrary to their own interests:

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> je cuide les autres du tout insensez, qui … ne s'enquierent de vice ou vertu qui soit au personnage, de quelle race, maison, ou parenté il est, quel art il exerce, s'il est fol ou sage, sobre ou dissolu, larron, paillard, meurtrier, ou loyal, chaste et humain, mais seulement s'il est riche et a de quoy; qu'ils estiment et prisent tant, qu'on ne leur sauroit sitost respondre ouy et les en asseurer, que le mariage ne soit encor plustost faict; se forceans eux-mesme volontairement, et de puissance absolue leurs povres enfans, lesquels ont bien souvent le coeur ailleurs.
>
> (I think those others thoroughly foolish who … do not enquire concerning the vice or virtue of the person, of what heritage, house or parentage he is, what profession he practices, whether he is foolish or wise, sober or dissolute, a thief, lecher, murderer, or loyal, chaste and humane, but merely if he is rich and has possessions; which they so esteem and prize that one could no sooner respond 'yes' and provide assurance than the marriage is already virtually made; wilfully forcing themselves sometimes, and with absolute power their poor children, who quite often have their hearts elsewhere.)[158]

Finally, even the common criterion of riches seems less important in this picture than sheer possessiveness and the arbitrary exercise of power, coupled with destructive haste. Such is conspicuously the case with Egeus, who meets counter-argument with a metaphorical wall – the precursor of that in Pyramus and Thisbe:

> Scornful Lysander, true, he hath my love;
> And what is mine, my love shall render him.
> And she is mine, and all my right of her
> I do estate unto Demetrius.
>
> (I.i.95–9)

Lysander's rational demonstration (99–105) of his suitability in all the respects enumerated by Philaste, including riches, can make no impact. Only supernatural intervention, eventually endorsed by Theseus' authority, deflects the tragic trajectory thus initiated. No such deflection prevents tragedy in *Romeo and Juliet.*

One might suspect Shakespeare, in fact, of adapting, for the scene of the would-be wedding turned funeral when Juliet's apparent death is discovered, a detail inspired by the tragedy of Laurine. This is the little sequence, at once comic and pathetic, in which the musicians put away their instruments: 'Faith, we may put up our pipes and be gone. *Nurse*. Honest good fellows, ah, put up, put up, / For well you know this is a pitiful case' (*Rom.*, IV.v.96–8). Apart from this detail, the entire scene closely follows the principal source, Arthur Brooke's *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet*, although Shakespeare largely transfers the evocation of the triumph of death from Juliet's mother to

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her father, who, after all, is more responsible for his daughter's fate. In expressing this idea, Old Capulet virtually inverts the initial command of Theseus in the comedy – '[s]tir up the Athenian youth to merriments, / Turn melancholy forth to funerals' (*MND*, I.i.12–13) – even as he anticipates by his musical images the interpolated episode of the musicians:

> All things that we ordained festival,
> Turn from their office to black funeral:
> Our instruments to melancholy bells,
> Our wedding cheer to a sad burial feast;
> Our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change;
> Our bridal flowers serve for a buried corse;
> And all things change them to the contrary.
> (*Rom.*, IV.v.84–90)

In Taillemont, the sumptuous preparations for the marriage of Sador with Laurine are likewise reduced, when she is found (truly) dead, to 'un piteux festin' (a pitiful banquet),[159] and musical instruments are likewise introduced to mark the reversal: 'La feste, qui dès le matin avait commencé, fut bien tost cessée, tous instrumens de musique delaissez; et sembloit, à voir, tous ceux de cette maison estre à la mort condamnez' (The celebration, which had begun in the morning, was soon halted, all the musical instruments left aside, and it seemed as if all those of the house were condemned to death).[160]

This looks like a case where Shakespeare's representation may have drawn details from Taillemont, interpretative depth from Gournay. The latter omits the musicians: after all, no wedding is actually in the offing, but simply the consummation of Othalcus' desires. On the other hand, Gournay dramatically enhances the sense of the Thracian's excited anticipation. To pass the time, he busies himself about the house, rather as Capulet will 'play the huswife for this once' (IV.ii.47), and the narrator ironically brings to bear on his projected scene of crass seduction – again through a citation from the Epithalamium – the splendour of the Golden Age wedding:

> Tandis Otalcus [*sic*] (afin d'acheuer nostre tragedie) … se met à faire refondre la maison en nouuelle pompe, pour tromper l'impatience de ce iour qui luy duroit mille ans. Tout reluit comme au palais de Iupiter:
> – fulgenti splendent auro atque argento,
> Candet ebur soliis, collucent pocula mensis,
> Tota domus gaudet.
>
> (All this while Othalcus (to bring our tragedy to an end) … applied himself to having the house done over in new splendor, so as to beguile the impatience of

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> that day, which, for him, lasted a thousand years. Everything gleamed as in the palace of Jupiter:
>
> > it all shone with sparkling gold and silver, the ivory gleamed on the floor, the goblets were resplendent on the tables. The whole house was rejoicing.)[161]

When she rewrote the story from the *Discours*, Gournay eliminated the aunt of Léontin. Her princess, who preserves both her honour (through marriage) and her sense of royal dignity, has her own idea of a suitable destination for the lovers before they are shipwrecked in Thrace. In more significant respects, however, Gournay's narrative draws much closer to Shakespeare's text, thanks essentially to changes following from the empowerment of eros: the replacement of simple villains by fools who are also victims; the complication of the 'eschange et permutation des Dames' by the intervention of an amorous female rival, who underlines the danger not only to childhood innocence but to solidarity between women – points amply reflected, in the comic register, by the relations of Hermia and Helena. When to these effects is added the ironic commentary on marriage as comic fulfilment provided by way of the Epithalamium of Catullus, it is tempting to conclude that, in composing *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, if not also *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare assimilated and redeployed the process of adaptation which the French author had herself effected. The 1594 publication of Gournay's novel, then, joins that of *La Diane* in the same year as a conceivable catalysing event for the composition of the play.[162]

Most fundamentally, Gournay raises, across her adaptation of Taillemont, the same questions implicitly posed by the Epilogue of Puck: what if there were no fairies to save mortals from themselves, no way to guide oneself in 'the quaint mazes in the wanton green' (*MND*, II.i.100), no substance in terrestrial love, even when charged with pretences to spirituality? And if there were no divinities to guarantee the curse of Ariadne: 'Immemor ah devota domum periuria portas' (Ah, ingrate, you carry home with you your cursed perjuries)?[163] For only faith lends meaning to oaths, and only oaths give rise to perjuries. In any case, it seems clear that the very idea of being '[e]ver true in loving', which Oberon (himself of doubtful fidelity) applies to the happy couples, is enchained to a long intertextual series of perjuries, stretching backward from the play's own 'boy Love … perjur'd every where' as far as Catullus, who first associated the word with Ariadne in resounding fashion, and including the 'parjure et desloyal ami' of Taillemont.

When Hermia promises Lysander to fly with him, it is not most convincingly 'by Cupid's strongest bow' (*MND*, I.i.169), the fatal weapon of

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the 'sanctus puer', that she swears fidelity, nor 'by that fire which burn'd the Carthage queen / When the false Troyan under sail was seen' (173–4) – the second classical model incorporated in the *Proumenoir*. She swears far more profoundly and personally by the same verity that Ariadne had formulated, also in discursive terms ('Dicta nihil metuere, nihil perjuria curant') – a verity worthy of being inscribed 'par tout dans les heures des dames'. In finally swearing 'By all the vows that ever men have broke / (In number more than ever women spoke)' (175–6), Hermia effectively re-inscribes in *her* Book of Hours the warning offered by Gourney to both sexes against the love 'exalté' of the 'champs faëz' with their inviting labyrinth.

Of course, the heroine of the *histoire comique* does not act according to her own better knowledge. Fortunately for her, the fairies in the play are 'real' and do not leave her in her labyrinth: 'I am amaz'd, and know not what to say' (*MND*, III.ii.344). By contrast, when Juliet cautions Romeo, 'if thou swear'st, / Thou mayest prove false: at lovers' perjuries / They say Jove laughs' (*Rom.*, II.i.91–3), she conceals from her own intuition the fact that in saying, 'I will take thy word' (91), she may herself become his victim, or rather Love's, since Romeo remains faithful to his promise unto death.

Dispelling the tragic shadow: the lion's share of laughter

What earns the Mechanicals' pageant in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* its exemplary status as generic pivot, epitomising the potential for reversible 'translation' between tragedy and comedy, is, of course, its memorable burlesque quality, both of the script and of the performance. This final part of the present chapter aims to explore this dimension in relation, principally, to two French analogues not previously brought to bear. The first is a brief (and indeed tedious) anonymous play published around 1535, one of the rare surviving dramatisations of the subject, which was demonstrably intended for performance, possibly by a travelling troupe. It turns out that this work sheds surprising light on the naive efforts of the Mechanicals to deal with the specifically theatrical challenges posed by Ovid's narrative. Also to the point is a lengthy poetic reworking of that narrative by Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1572–73), which, although unequivocally serious, intriguingly anticipates the change in cultural register effected by Shakespeare in endowing his material with a humanist apparatus and (over)elaborate rhetorical ornamentation. Thus, from two very different points of view, French intertexts highlight the parodic potential which seems to have attracted Shakespeare to the well-known story specifically as a means of insinuating the fragility of generic boundaries.

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Like virtually every aspect of every Shakespearean play, the pageant of Pyramus and Thisbe has long attracted conjecture concerning origins – this despite universal agreement that the story itself, as narrated in Golding's translation of the *Metamorphoses*, furnished the broad inspiration and several particular hints. The version given by Chaucer in *The Legend of Good Women* also pretty clearly served Shakespeare's parodic purpose at a few points. That is as far as the critical consensus goes, but proposals have been advanced on behalf of a number of more obscure analogues – more or less convincingly, especially since most of the extant versions share a potential for absurdity, at least to modern eyes (and ears). To the less prominent texts included in Bullough's magisterial compendium[164] criticism has added two poetic renditions: one by Thomas Moffett, for which, despite its publication date of 1599, large claims were made by Kenneth Muir (subsequently refuted by Katherine Duncan-Jones),[165] and another by Thomas Proctor, which figured in his 1578 gallimaufry of poems about love, *A gorgious Gallery, of gallant Inuentions*. The latter, mentioned by Bullough only in passing, declares itself a translation, and it has attracted sustained attention from Wolfgang Van Emden as the sole English representative of a significant French tradition of Pyramus and Thisbe redactions.[166] The tradition stems ultimately from an anonymous twelfth-century poem, *Pyrame et Thisbé*, which was incorporated into the widely diffused *Ovide moralisé* and subsequently translated into prose.[167] It is Van Emden's conclusion that the version of *A gorgious gallery* is based on the prose version but also shows the influence of the poem behind it.[168]

From the present perspective, it is most immediately striking that, despite the obvious popularity of the narrative, industrious source-hunting has turned up very few dramatic versions – in English only one, and that of doubtful pertinence: a manuscript *Tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe* by a certain 'N. R.', which probably dates from the seventeenth century and is unlikely ever to have been staged.[169] It stands out for its aspiration to erudition, manifested in the grafting of an unwieldy neo-classical apparatus onto the Ovidian narrative. There is nothing in this, or in the material thus far assembled within the *Records of Early English Drama* (REED) project, to suggest a tradition of plays on the subject, such as might have made Peter Quince's choice of material seem routine to Shakespeare's audience (although a *Pyramus and Thisbe* may have been taken to Germany by English professionals in 1604[170]). This remains true despite Louis Montrose's supposition that 'amateur acting traditions' suppressed over the course of Elizabeth's reign are evoked by Shakespeare's pageant.[171] Peter Holland, moreover, contends that the very notion of 'Mechanicals' staging such material before aristocrats is without precedent in early modern England.[172]

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The paucity of domestic theatrical parallels makes it all the more interesting that, among the Pyramus and Thisbe plays prior to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* that are sporadically documented in other languages, there exists an anonymous French version issued under the title of *Moralité nouuelle, recreatifue, & profitable, a quatre personnaiges*.[173] Hardin Craig points out that the label of '*moralité*' in French 'was a broader and vaguer term' than in English and 'applied to social custom and behaviour'; he takes it as a virtual equivalent of '*sottie*'.[174] This is sometimes so, but more often some claim to edification is implied, and this pageant virtually proclaims its derivation from the *Ovide moralisé* through an allegorical conclusion, though the pastoral framing device that provides this features a shepherd (*Le Bergier*) and shepherdess (*La Bergière*) who show themselves adept at drinking and ribaldry as well. In its main action, at least, this hybrid creation, of uncertain date (1535 is Émile Picot's conjecture) and provenance (perhaps Angers),[175] presents intriguing points of contact with Shakespeare. I hasten to renounce any claim for it as a source, but, for heuristic purposes, I propose introducing it into the discursive space explored here. It does, after all, meet the basic criterion of accessibility in principle: it was printed (even if a sole copy is known to have survived), and in a familiar language for the time and place – unlike, for instance, Dutch, in which another surviving Pyramus and Thisbe pageant was composed by Matthijs de Castelein for the Rhetoricians in the early sixteenth century.[176]

Nor, perhaps, should we ignore the evidence (sparse as it is) of the presence of French actors in England, at least occasionally, and at least in the pre-Reformation period.[177] This makes it especially to the point that, far from evincing pretensions to literary status or addressing potential readers, the original edition of the *Moralité nouvelle*, with its title page enumerating the 'personnaiges', appears to be aimed largely at a range of prospective players, not necessarily professionals, in a way familiar from many published English interludes and popular plays before and beyond Shakespeare's day.[178] It is a mode of diffusion that Shakespeare's audiences might have taken for granted as explaining how Peter Quince had got hold of his script. It may also have encouraged Shakespeare to expect spectators of *Henry IV, Part One* (1576–77) to be familiar with Thomas Preston's *Cambyses* (1560?), which he parodies through Falstaff (II.iv.387): the printed version of that antiquated theatrical jumble carried such an incentive to players on its title page, both in its first extant edition (London: John Allde, 1570?) and in its recent reissue (London: Edward Allde, 1595), along with a generic label distinctly anticipating Pyramus and Thisbe: *A lamentable tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth.*

In any case, the French text's seeming orientation towards performance by any small troupe willing to purchase it gives it unique status among the

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analogues and encourages a dramaturgical approach. Thus, what chiefly concerns me in the *Moralité* is not the kinds of variant details that commentators on the Pyramus and Thisbe tradition typically single out: the early course of the relationship, the sex of the lion, the identity of Thisbe's bloodied garment, and so forth. On such points, there are closer parallels to Shakespeare elsewhere – with one possible exception, as I will propose. Rather, I wish to concentrate on staging, particularly on those elements that both the *Moralité* and the Mechanicals' pageant designate as stage-worthy simply by building action around them. And if, in literary terms, the *Moralité* presents some of the same incongruities, excesses and general naïveté as several more widely recognised analogues, the staging issues throw specifically into relief the potential for parody in performance.

Despite the extravagant histrionic pretensions of Bottom, it is arguably the non-speaking role of the Lion, as played by Snug, that steals the show in performance (as indeed Bottom seems to anticipate in boasting of his capacity to play it as well as the other parts). The question of representing a lion is made a matter for debate among the actors for silly reasons, but that debate gains ironically in significance when one considers the genuine challenge involved in translating this part of the narrative to the stage. The challenge that the Mechanicals do not anticipate, but that they obviously fail to meet, is precisely that of preserving the tragic dignity of the occasion. Even Bottom's uproarious notion of roaring 'as gently as any sucking dove' (I.ii.82–3) inadvertently points up the delicate balance that would have to be struck in a serious production. Early modern English theatre evidently had room for beasts played by actors in fantastic romance settings – witness the bear of *Mucedorus* and its more famous offshoot in *The Winter's Tale*, where Antigonus is trapped between nature's savagery by land and by sea[179] – but sustained and elevated tragedy is another matter. One could hardly envisage a decorous materialisation within the storm in *King Lear* of the encounter the suffering king imagines: 'Thou'dst shun a bear / But if thy flight lay toward the roaring sea / Thou'dst meet the bear i' th' mouth' (*Lr.*, III.iv.9–11).

Hence, perhaps, the apparent avoidance of the problem in the would-be neo-classical *The Tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe* by 'N. R.'. There is nothing in this text, which has quite explicit stage directions, to indicate that the animal actually appears. One stage direction merely signals that Thisbe '*sees Liones*';[180] next, when Pyramus enters, '*He seeth the liones footsteps*',[181] following them to find Thisbe's veil, as he could easily manage to do offstage. It further weighs against impersonation of the beast that a lioness is specified, in keeping with Ovid.[182] (Thisbe also uses the term and speaks of 'shee'.[183]) Presenting a recognisable lioness would hardly be impossible, but a practically minded

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company would probably sacrifice literary precision to stage impact, as both the *Moralité* and the Mechanicals' tragedy evidently do. (Snug's 'nor else no lion's dam' (*MND*, V.ii.222) conceivably contains an in-joke comment on the point.)

Like other early modern special effects, this sort of display is very much in the popular medieval theatrical tradition. From this point of view, at least, it is not surprising to find it exploited in the *Moralité*. What is remarkable, however, is the prominence given to the episode and the apparent allowance for supplementary stage business. While it does not figure among the title page's 'quatre personnaiges', the lion of the *Moralité* would surely have come across as one for audiences. Indeed, a stage direction says so, and implies considerable action, in stipulating that, at the point where Pyramus enters and begins to speak, '*le lyon fait son personnaige*' (behaves according to his character).[184] He has already been given some scope to do so, since he is made to enter – 'Icy s'apparoist le lyon' (Here the lion shows himself)[185] – in time for Thisbe to see him 'accourant' (come running)[186] and, before fleeing, to express her fear over six further lines, in which she actually addresses him: 'O pervers monstre devorant … M'en voys, redoubtant ta fallace' (O perverse devouring monster … I take myself off, fearing your treachery).[187] Afterwards, he is described as going to drink at the fountain and returning, after accomplishing the action essential to the plot by bloodying the dropped garment (here a 'couvre chef') in its jaws: 'le lyon le trouve et le retourne de son museau ensanglanté' (the lion finds it and turns it over in his bloodied jaws).[188] It is this action, of course, that evokes the mock admiration of Shakespeare's Theseus: 'Well moused, Lion' (*MND*, V.i.263).

If the *Moralité*'s elaborate staging of the lion runs the risk, one might have thought, of the ridiculous, so, surely, does its presentation of the lovers' conversation conducted through the wall. First, it is notable that even a small troupe of French provincial players was evidently expected to do what Snout pronounces, and the others also assume, to be impossible: 'You can never bring in a wall' (*MND*, III.i.65). The precedent tends to confirm – for there are sceptics on the point[189] – that Shakespeare's humour here comes partly at the expense of the Mechanicals' specifically theatrical ignorance, which is then capped by the fantastic solution proposed by Bottom. In the *Moralité*, a physical wall is obviously present, complete with its chink, through which Tisbee initially passes the pendant of her belt to attract Pyramus' eye – a detail from the *Ovide moralisé* tradition.[190] He thereupon draws near in the hope of catching sight of her: 'si par l'ouverture / Je pouvoys Tisbee adviser, / Ce me seroit bonne aventure' (if, through the opening, I might glimpse Tisbee, that would be my good fortune).[191] The approach by stages is much like that

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of Bottom-Pyramus, who, having first cursed the wall for his failure to spy his love on the first go – 'No Thisby do I see. / O wicked wall, through whom I see no bliss!' (*MND*, V.i.179–80) – is then attracted by Thisby's voice, which he says he sees: 'I see a voice. Now will I to the chink / To spy an I can hear my Thisby's face' (192–3).

But whereas the wall business is very speedily concluded in Shakespeare (and hilariously, largely thanks to Chaucer's development of Ovid[192]), it drags on in the *Moralité* for over a hundred lines, on the authority, in a general way, of the lengthy exchanges in the Old French *Pyrame et Thisbé*. The difficulty of getting a good look at each other continues to be an issue and calls for active stage business:

> *Tisbee.* Mon amy, je me suis deceincte
> Affin que vostre pourtraicture
> Je puisse regarder sans faincte,
> Car moult me plaist votre facture.
> *Pyramus.* Quand j'ay apperceu la ceincture,
> Je me suis trouvé tout joieux,
> Et pensoye que par l'ouverture
> Je pourroye bien veoir voz deux yeulx.

> (*Tisbee*. My dear, I undid my belt so that I might truly see your image, for your features please me greatly. *Pyramus*. When I spied the belt, I was thoroughly happy and thought that through the opening I might indeed see your two eyes.)[193]

At the end of the scene, a great deal is made of the promise to meet – 'N'y faillez pas. … Nenny, je iray' (Don't fail to be present. … By no means – I shall go)[194] – and each (redundantly enough, one might suppose) urges the other not to forget: 'Je vous pry qu'il vous vous en souvienne' (I pray you to remember it); 'Mais vous mesme n'oubliez pas / A y venir' (But do not yourself forget to go there).[195] Such superfluity is so ill-matched to the situation onstage, with the lovers talking through the wall, as to teeter on the brink of the burlesque into which Bottom-Pyramus and Flute-Thisby enthusiastically leap with their mangled professions of truth ('Not Shafalus to Procrus …' (*MND*, V.i.198 ff.)) in arranging their tryst at 'Ninny's tomb' (202). Over-protesting vows are elsewhere staged in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as has already been proposed, in a way calculated at least to raise an eyebrow: in light of the *Moralité*, it is easier to see the Mechanicals' pageant as burlesquing Hermia's extravagant oaths to meet with Lysander (*MND*, I.i.168 ff.), the latter's response – 'Keep promise, love' (179) – and indeed the mortal danger entailed: '"Tide life, 'tide death, I come without delay' (V.i.203).[196]

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If the lovers' declarations are less extreme in the Pyramus and Thisbe narratives, as opposed to the stagings, that is part of the point. A narrator is free to settle for a bare statement, as, for instance, does Chaucer: 'And plyghten trouthe fully in here fey / That ilke same nyght to stele awey.'[197] Dramatists, by contrast, are required to invent something suitable for parting lovers to say, and all are not as adept, or as self-conscious, as Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet*: 'Parting is such sweet sorrow / That I shall say good night till it be morrow' (*Rom.*, II.ii.184–5). In the sheer clumsiness of its invention, the *Moralité* inadvertently calls attention to the thinness of the Pyramus and Thisbe story as dramatic material – its large capacity for a staging at once 'tedious' and 'brief'.

Unless the *Moralité* was actually known to Shakespeare, dramatic imperative must account also for the only substantial variant on the story that its version shares uniquely with that of the Mechanicals. When Flute's Thisby approaches Pyramus after his suicide, she recognises him at once but assumes that he is sleeping, although only a few short lines accompany the stage business – unavoidably absurd, however enacted – by which she finds out the grim truth:

> Asleep, my love?
> What, dead, my dove?
> O Pyramus, arise!
> Speak, speak! Quite dumb?
> Dead, dead? A tomb
> Must cover thy sweet eyes.
> (*MND*, V.i.324–8)[198]

None of the narrative versions has Thisbe supposing Pyramus to be asleep, whether or not she recognizes him at once (as in the *Ovide moralisé* tradition) or not (as in the *Metamorphoses* itself).[199] Nor does the English dramatic analogue. In the *Tragedy* of 'N. R.', Thisbe knows at once that she has come upon a corpse or a mortally wounded man ('A man lies slain'); suspense is precluded by her anticipation: 'oh how I feare / Lest yon dead man my Pyramus should prove'.[200]

The *Moralité* furnishes by far the closest verbal parallel to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, while Tisbee's crude and stilted lines make it difficult to imagine action more genuinely pathetic than the Mechanicals could manage:

> Helas, Pyramus, dormez vous?
> Qui vous a couché contre terre?
> Levez vous, mon amy tresdoulx;
> Allons nostre plaisance querre,

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> Helas, qui vous a faict la guerre,
> Mon soulas, mon bien, mon support?
> Navré estes jusque a la mort.
>
> (Alas, Pyramus, are you asleep? Why are you lying on the ground? Get up, my sweetest friend; let us seek our pleasure; alas, who has attacked you, my solace, my profit, my support? You have been laid low even to death.)[201]

Not only sheer silliness, which here must be inadvertent, but a rudimentary dramatic logic links the two abrupt discovery sequences: ironic suspense, followed by shocked realisation, then painful confirmation and desolation. The *Moralité* author has perceptibly reshaped his narrative original to the contours of the stage, and if the result is inept, it is so in ways that remarkably play into Shakespeare's playful hands.

The same may said of an element conspicuously absent from the *Moralité*. A bloody-minded spectator, but also anyone who knew the story, might just be struck by the absence of any reference to the moonlight that enables Pyramus and Tisbee to see well enough to bring about the tragic conclusion. It is, of course, an issue which, like the need for a wall, preoccupies the Mechanicals and provokes a far-fetched solution, again one that underlines their lack of faith in the audience's imagination – as opposed to their own, for, far from being limited, as Hippolyta opines (*MND*, V.i.213–14), theirs actually knows no bounds. The composer of the *Moralité* obviously knew that while a wall may indeed be brought on stage, moonlight in tangible form cannot be. Still, the absence of any reference is all but unique among the extant versions.[202] Intertextually speaking, the result is a gap that Peter Quince and company rush in to fill, or to 'disfigure' (III.i.60–1): 'for you know, Pyramus and Thisby meet by moonlight' (49–50).

It is worth gazing a moment at the various evocations of moonlight in the tradition. They begin with Ovid (as duly translated by Golding), who specifies that Thisbe sees the lion by moonlight. Chaucer follows suit in explaining how Pyramus spies the lion's track ('The mone shon, and he mighte wel yse'[203]). 'N. R.' builds the mention into a monologue by Thisbe: 'Dame Diana now / The sable world salutes, whilst lesser starrs / By brightsome splendor, shine on darksome earth.'[204] This manoeuvre is interesting because, however remote from the stage the *Tragedy* appears generally to be, it matches contemporary dramatic practice for setting time, place and ambiance. That is, after all, how Shakespeare's lovers, fairies and rehearsing Mechanicals illuminate the wood outside Athens.

The eclipsing of the moon in the *Moralité* appears all the stranger because the *Ovide moralisé* tradition otherwise tends to expand its role, beginning with

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the founding twelfth-century poetic account. There Thisbé, as she sets out to meet Pyrame, 'vit la lune empalir' (saw the moon grow pale)[205] – one of the signs of impending misfortune that she ignores. The sense of the moon as animate, and foreboding, is sustained when Pyramus is enabled by its light – so brilliant it makes the mulberry tree cast a shadow (a point I will return to) – to spy the bloodied veil and the animal's tracks:

> Hé, Dieux, comme grans mesaventure
> Li aproche, pesant et dure!
> Quar a la clarté de la lune,
> Si come apareilloit Fortune,
> Garda sous l'ombre dou morier,
> Si vit la guimple blanchoier,
> Et sus le poudriere environ,
> Cognut la trace dou lÿon.

(Ah, God, what mischance comes upon him, weighty and hard! For by the brilliance of the moon, as Fortune would have it, he glanced beneath the shadow of the mulberry tree and saw the veil gleaming white, and in the surrounding dust recognised the tracks of the lion.)[206]

Indeed, in an extended purple passage declaring his woes and apostrophising their causes, including 'Lÿon, tu qui la devoras' (Lion, you who devoured her)[207] – Pyrame is here expressing surprise at the absence of more leftovers – the stricken lover blames the moon:

> Lune crueulz qui l'esgardas,
> S'a cele hore n'en obscurras,
> C'est tors.

(Cruel moon that witnessed this, not to obscure yourself at that horror was wrong.)[208]

As for the sole known *Ovide moralisé* derivative in English, that of Proctor in *A gorgious Gallery*, it retains only the mistaken omen at Thisbe's flight to join her lover, but presents it with a distinctive variation:

> neyther far ne neare,
> Appeareth wyght saue Phebe fayre, with gladsom seeming cheare[.]
> Sole Thisbie ioyfull of this guyde, doth [s?]ay I trust it bee,
> Good lucke thy presence doth import, and bring at last to mee.[209]

Such an evocation of fair moonlight, apparently propitious to fleeing lovers but suspending tragic potential, threatens to cast a shadow on the optimism of Lysander, when he discloses to Helen the plan he has agreed on with Hermia:

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> To-morrow night, when Phoebe doth behold
> Her silver visage in the wat'ry glass,
> Decking with liquid pearl the bladed grass
> (A time that lovers' flights doth still conceal),
> Through Athens gates have we devis'd to steal.
> (*MND*, I.i.209–13)

Whether or not a spectator (or indeed Shakespeare) recalled Proctor's lines, anyone familiar with the Pyramus and Thisbe story would know that moonlight's function there is less to conceal than to reveal, however imperfectly, and that the result may be tragic. Juliet, too, knows this, from the moment when she and Romeo plan their clandestine union. Moonlight threatens death by revealing Romeo in the orchard, while the moon itself, which for him now shines so fairly, though 'sick and pale with grief' (*Rom.*, II.ii.5) a few minutes before, for her remains a symbol of the precarious:

> *Romeo*. Lady, by yonder blessed moon I vow,
> That tips with silver all these fruit-tree tops –
> *Juliet*. O, swear not by the moon, th' inconstant moon,
> That monthly changes in her circled orb,
> Lest that thy love prove likewise variable.
> (107–11)

Finally, but I think substantially, there is another suggestive French text in the same tradition – one arguably less obscure than Proctor's, though never yet (to my knowledge) juxtaposed with *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In the *Quatrième livre des poèmes de J. A. de Baif*, which was included in his collection, *Euvres en rime*, published in 1572–73, there appeared a narrative version of over six hundred lines (evidently a youthful work) entitled, *Le meurier, ou la fable de Pyrame et Thisbe*.[210] Baïf preserves, with stylistic embellishment suiting an apprentice member of the *Pléiade*, the moonshine lighting Thisbe's departure: 'desja par la nuit claire / De son œil plein la double Lune esclaire / Au ciel serein' (already in the bright night the double Moon shines with its full eye in a tranquil sky).[211] The apostrophe of Pyrame to the moon is transferred to Thisbe on the point of her suicide, but it is also made one of a series of rhetorical adieux in a way that effectively combines the parting injunction of Bottom-Pyramus ('Moon, take thy flight' (*MND*, V.i.305)) with the swan-song of Flute-Thisby ('And farewell, friends; / Thus Thisby ends. / Adieu, adieu, adieu' (346–7)): 'O Lune adieu, qui verras deux amis / En ceste nuit, l'un pour l'autre à mort mis' (O Moon, adieu, who will see two lovers die this night, each for the other).[212] (The moon is still shining, however, for 'le triste ombrage' (the mournful shadow)'[213] of the mulberry

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tree covers both the lovers.) This Thisbe appears decidedly humanist – and proto-Shakespearean – in appealing to the presiding deities of 'ces forestes épesses' (these dense forests): 'O si d'amour la cognoissance avez, / Si comme il poind chaudement vous sçavez' (Oh, if you have acquaintance with love, if you know how fiercely it burns).[214]

Likewise, in moving beyond formal complaint to question the justice of the universe, the poet palpably shifts the cultural ground from medieval to early modern territory:

> Ont bien les dieux inhumains peu permettre
> Un meurtre tel par Lyons se commettre?
> Telle douceur en si grande beauté
> S'endommager par telle cruauté?
> Ont doncques eu ces bestes le courage,
> Ha! d'employer leur excessive rage
> En tel honneur? ton parler adoucy
> Ne les a point attirez la mercy,
> Dont la douceur de pleurs une riviere
> Eust peu tirer hors d'une roche fiere?
> Quoy? ton regard confit en amitié,
> Ne les a point incitez à pitié?

(Could the cruel gods permit such a murder to be committed by lions? Such sweetness with such great beauty to be injured by such ferocity? Have these beasts therefore had the heart, alas, to deploy their excessive rage to this purpose? Was mercy not at all awakened in them by your soft speech, whose sweetness might have drawn a river of tears from a stern rock? What, did your look, composed of friendly feeling, not at all induce them to pity?).[215]

Remarkably, then, it is Baïf who appears to provide the closest equivalent to the expostulation of Bottom-Pyramus:

> O, wherefore, Nature, didst thou lions frame?
> Since lion vild hath here deflow'r'd my dear;
> Which is – no, no – which was the fairest dame
> That liv'd, that lov'd, that lik'd, that look'd with cheer.
> (*MND*, V.i.291–4)

It is hardly necessary to posit Baïf's rhetorical overkill as prompting Pyramus-Bottom's momentary venture into philosophy, but overall this unquestionably accessible redaction adds to the evidence for further extending the range of intertextual reference. The case of Pyramus and Thisbe has often seemed especially open-ended – to Muir, for instance, who recognised 'Shakespeare's use of multiple sources'[216] – and it is artificial to impose closure

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on it, even with regard to what might seem obvious details. I have already raised the possibility that Shakespeare's choice of Pyramus and Thisbe as a model love tragedy was at least reinforced by Montreux's *La Diane*.[217] And while it is certainly possible that Golding's *Metamorphoses* 'gave' Shakespeare the word 'mantle'[218] – as Montreux may have contributed to 'condoling' – it is also conceivable that Baïf guided both choice and usage; certainly, the moment when his Pyrame discovers his beloved's 'manteau' draws closer to that in the Mechanicals' pageant: 'Mais il vit le manteau par le terre / Souillé de sang, un dueil le cœur luy serre' (But he saw the mantle on the ground, soiled with blood, and grief seized his heart);[219] 'Eyes, do you see? / … / Thy mantle good, / What, stain'd with blood?' (*MND*, V.i.279–82).

Against this thoroughly moonlit background, the dramaturgical ambivalence of the *Moralité* stands out even more starkly. Its author was seemingly eager to exploit those stage opportunities that the narrative suggested, at least within rudimentary limits (an inanimate wall, a lion who frankly 'fait son personnaige'). But the clumsy insistence on spelling out the meaning of actions, notably in the talking-through-the-wall scene, also points to a lack of faith in the medium – a reluctance to leave anything to the audience's imagination. The verbal absence of moonlight, as if language could not create theatrical illusion but might rather attract logical critique, suggests a literalising attitude akin to that projected on their public by Shakespeare's Mechanicals, even if the *Moralité* knows better than to attempt a Man-in-the-Moon solution. For, thus induced to place themselves on the Mechanicals' level, Shakespeare's onstage spectators do indeed give themselves over to the prosaic deflation of poetic illusion – especially on the question of Moonshine, when they insist that his symbolic attributes should be inside his lantern, and when Hippolyta objects, after the death of Bottom-Pyramus, 'How chance Moonshine is gone before Thisby comes back and finds her lover?' (*MND*, V.i.312–13).

The particular challenge posed by moonlight in the *Moralité* may have been compounded by that of interweaving the love tragedy with the framing plot of the shepherd and shepherdess – a notably incongruous device in both tone and action. The eponymous lovers announce that they will 'ceste nuict aller / Soubz le meurier' (go this night beneath the mulberry tree) near Ninus' tomb, but the next scene shows the shepherds already there by daylight in a love tryst of their own: 'Ainsi, nous sommes soubz l'ombraige / Du meurier portant meure blanche' (Thus we are under the shade of the mulberry tree bearing white berries).[220] Night is drawing on, however, and they have heard of a lion that frequents the place, so they withdraw. After the tragedy occurs, they reappear, eager to 'retourner soubz le meurier' (return beneath the mulberry

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tree), and with the strange anticipation of receiving 'quelque nouvelle' (some news), 'car je gaige / Que quelq'ung est la qui attende / Compaignie' (for I am sure that someone is there awaiting company).[221] Apparently, however, it is daylight again: 'C'est une plaisance immortelle / Que d'estre soubz le bel umbraige / Du murier') (It is an endless pleasure to be beneath the fair shade of the mulberry).[222] By the time they see the two bodies '[d]essoubz ce gracieux umbraige'(Beneath that beauteous shade),[223] returning to the old poem's narrative but without the benefit of its moonlight, night and day seem as thoroughly confused as they are in Bottom's mind: 'Sweet Moon, I thank thee for thy sunny beams' (*MND*, V.i.272).

There is precedent here for the passing evocation in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* of Thisby as 'tarrying in mulberry shade' (V.i.148),[224] although Baïf's version goes further in portraying her extensively as she awaits Pyrame 'seulette dessous l'ombre' (all alone in the shade).[225] Indeed, Baïf even has Thisbe imagining, as if anticipating the bewildered Hermia of Shakespeare's main plot, not to mention Ariadne, that Pyramus has forgotten his 'vaines promesses' (empty promises): 'Aa, donc tu dors? aa, doncque tu me laisses, / Amy cruel, en des lieux pleins d'effroy, / Conduitte ainsi sous ta parjure foy' (Ah, then you are sleeping? Ah, so you leave me, cruel friend, in a place full of terror, induced to behave so by your perjured faith?).[226]

It may have been the dramaturgical conventions of the *Moralité*, and not just its author's moralising imperative, that required the pastoral frame to supply the last word. Most obviously, their discovery of the tragedy effects an instantaneous conversion of the shepherd and shepherdess. Their bawdy talk and behaviour give way seamlessly to the pious allegorical reading – of Christ and the soul – that justifies the dramatic exercise, like its literary precursor, in the first place. But they give way, too, to the only forerunner I know of Theseus' sardonic observation: 'Moonshine and Lion are left to bury the dead' (*MND*, V.i.349–50). As the only two of the four 'personnaiges' left alive, the shepherd and shepherdess resolve to do just that, perhaps as a means of clearing away the bodies, as early modern English practice required – at least where the victims do not, like Bottom in his surprise awakening, spring to life again:

> *Le Bergier.* Et pauvre bergiere, mon amye,
> Il ne fault pas estre endormye;
> Mais aydez moy a mettre en terre
> Ces corps.
> *La Bergiere.* Plus ne m'en fault requerre;
> J'y aideray de bon couraige.

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> (*Shepherd.* And poor shepherdess, my dear, we must not sleep, but help me to place these bodies in the earth. *Shepherdess.* There is no need to ask me again; I will help to do that with all my heart.)[227]

It is not hard to imagine the comments with which the Athenian courtiers would have greeted these lines and whatever stage business accompanied them. (One would suppose that two actors could not manage a notably dignified job of displacing the two bodies.) Precisely by inadvertently signalling burlesque tendencies while anxiously clinging to notions of decorum – as is equally the case with the Mechanicals – the *Moralité* comes closer than any other known analogue, not just to issuing an open invitation to dramatic parody but to providing a fairly detailed blueprint for it.

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Notes

1 For a valuable recent discussion of this tradition, and of Montemayor within it, see Marsha S. Collins, *Imagining Arcadia in Renaissance Romance*, Routledge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture, 30 (New York: Routledge, 2016).
2 See, notably, R. Tobler, 'Shakespeare's *Sommernachtstraum* und Montemayor's *Diana*', *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 34 (1898), 358–66, and T. P. Harrison, Jr., 'Shakespeare and Montemayor's *Diana*', *Studies in English* (later *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*), 6 (1927), 72–120. Cf., in more general terms, Mary Lascelles, 'Shakespeare's pastoral comedy', in John Garrett (ed.), *More Talking of Shakespeare* (London: Longmans, 1959), pp. 72–5.
3 See Harrison, 'Shakespeare and Montemayor's *Diana*', pp. 97–9.
4 Judith M. Kennedy (ed.), Introduction, *A Critical Edition of Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's Diana and Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. xlvii.
5 Harrison, 'Shakespeare and Montemayor's *Diana*', p. 102.
6 Jorge de Montemayor, *Diana*, trans. Bartholomew Yong, in Judith M. Kennedy (ed.), *A Critical Edition of Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's Diana and Gil Polo's Enamoured Diana* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 1–242, p. 42.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
9 Geoffrey Bullough, 'Introduction to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*', in Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, p. 206; see also Kennedy (ed.), Introduction, *Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's Diana*, pp. xlii–xliii.
10 Kennedy (ed.), Introduction, *Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's Diana*, p. xlii.
11 [Nicolas de Montreux], *Honours Academie. Or the famous pastorall, of the faire Shepheardesse, Iulietta … With divers comicall and tragicall histories, in prose and*

verse, of all sorts. Done into English by R. T. [i.e. Robert Tofte] (London: Thomas Creede, 1610); STC 18053.

12 Nicolas de Montreux ['Ollenix du Mont-Sacré'], *La Diane d'Ollenix dv Mont-Sacré Gentil-homme du Maine. Pastourelle ou Fable Bosquagere*, in *Troisiesme livre des bergeries de Julliette, etc.* (Tours: Jamet Mettayer, 1594). There has been only one edition in modern times: Nicolas de Montreux, *Diane* (*La Diane*), ed. and trans. Richard Hillman with an edition of the French text, Scène-Européenne – Traductions Introuvables (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2019). Citations and translations are taken from this edition; line numbers (continuous throughout) and scene numbers (for the translation) are those supplied editorially.

13 Georges Grente, Michel Simonin *et al.* (eds), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le XVI^e^ siècle*, new edn (Paris: Fayard, 2001), *s.v.* 'Montreux'. Montreux has been generally neglected as an author; the most thorough study, with bibliography, remains Rose-Marie Daele, *Nicolas de Montreulx, Ollenix du Mont-Sacré, Arbiter of European Literary Vogues of the Late Renaissance* (New York: Moretus Press, 1946).

14 The Privilège is dated 1593 but does not mention *La Diane*; the play is introduced by a separate title page with the date of 1594, but the pagination is continuous with the first part of the volume. The publication of the third book of the *Bergeries* by Jamet Mettayer, a major printer of royalist propaganda, despite its author's association with the League, is discussed as testimony to the great popularity of Montreux's series, and of pastoral romances and drama generally, by Laurence Augereau, 'La vie intellectuelle à Tours pendant la Ligue (1589–1594)', Thèse Doctorale en Littérature française, Université François-Rabelais, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Tours, 2003, pp. 847–51. Mettayer had also published the translation of Tasso's *Aminta* by Pierre Le Loyer, seigneur de La Brosse (1591), and that of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* by Roland Brisset (1593); he is also associated with a 1592 composite volume of translated Spanish romances, including Montemayor's, produced by several publishers in Tours. I am grateful to Pierre Aquilon and Laetitia Bontemps of the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance for guidance regarding the publishing scene in Tours during this period.

15 I have elsewhere discussed these tragedies in intertextual relation to Shakespeare's *Othello* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, respectively. See Hillman, *French Origins of English Tragedy*, pp. 76–7, and *French Reflections in the Shakespearean Tragic*, pp. 97–105.

16 See T. E. Lawrenson, 'La mise en scène dans l'*Arimène* de Nicolas de Montreux', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*,18 (1956), 286–90. *La Diane*, too, affords some spectacular effects, for instance, in Elymant's protracted conjuring sequence (Montreux, *La Diane*, II.ii.1838–1991).

17 *La Diane*, therefore, is double the length of the standard contemporary French comedy or tragedy – and, for that matter, of *MND*.

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18 On the context of Italian-inspired pastoralism, see Charles Mazouer, *Le théâtre français de la Renaissance* (Paris: H. Champion, 2002), pp. 402–4; Jean Balsamo, *Les rencontres des muses: italianisme et anti-italianisme dans les lettres françaises de la fin du XVI^e siècle*, Bibliothèque Franco Simone, 19 (Geneva: Slatkine, 1992), p. 277; and Jules Marsan, *La pastorale dramatique en France à la fin du XVI^e siècle et au commencement du XVII^e siècle* (1905; fac. rpt. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), pp. 189–90. On the affinities with the *commedia dell' arte*, see Hillman (ed. and trans.), *Diane (La Diane)*, Introduction, pp. 5–7. Robert Henke, 'Transporting tragicomedy: Shakespeare and the magical pastoral of the *commedia dell'arte*', in Subha Mukherji and Raphael Lyne (eds), *Early Modern Tragicomedy* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), pp. 43–58, includes typically illuminating discussion of *MND*, including the device of the *chaîne amoureuse* (p. 52), but without any allowance for French mediation.

19 Marsan, for one, stresses Montemayor's 'gravité solennelle, son pédantisme' (his solemn gravity, his pedantry), and comments that 'les héros de Montemayor sont terriblement sérieux; leur passion demeure avant tout soucieuse de sa propre dignité' (the heroes of Montemayor are terribly serious; their passion remains above all anxious about its own dignity) ('La pastorale dramatique en France', p. 124).

20 Henke, 'Transporting tragicomedy', pp. 52–3.

21 Montreux, *Diane (La Diane)*, III.i.2842–5, 2854–7, 2906–8, 2924–6.

22 *Ibid.*, III.i.3136–46.

23 See Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

24 Montreux, *Diane (La Diane)*, I.ii.185, 189, 390–1.

25 *Ibid.*, II.i.1637, 1658–9.

26 *Ibid.*, II.i.1666–9. The indispensable role of love in conferring 'form and dignity' on what would otherwise be 'base and vile' forms part of Nymphis' subsequent argument with Jullie, which manipulates much the same vocabulary, although the ground has shifted (without much motivation) to a conventional debate between sexual ardour and chastity:

> *Nymphis.* C'est folle erreur que vouloir estimer
> Qu'il y ait blasme à saintement aimer:
> Car l'Amour seul à nostre ame fait croire
> Que doux on sent le beau fruit de la gloire.
> *Ivllie.* Ce qui ne peut à l'honneur s'accorder
> Ne se doit point comme saint demander:
> Car sans l'honneur toute chose est indigne
> De voir du iour la lumiere diuine.
> *Nymphis.* Tout riche honneur qui ne reçoit l'Amour
> Pour compagnon, est indigne du iour,
> Car sans l'Amour, qui viuement demeure
> Auecques luy, il ne peut viure vne heure.

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(*Nymphis*. It's a foolish error to try to say
There's blame in loving in a holy way:
For love alone gives our soul the sensation
Of tasting the sweet fruit of exaltation.
Jullie. Whatever cannot with honour agree
Must lay no claim at all to sanctity,
For without honour nothing has the right
To enjoy the view of divine daylight.
Nymphis. No rich honour that shuns Love's company
Deserves the right the light of day to see,
For unless Love enables them to thrive
Together, it can hardly stay alive.)
(*Ibid.*, II.iii.2364–5)

27 The latter dismisses (and threatens) her as a revolting old hag and a witch (II. iv.2662–91). As often in *La Diane*, the rough violence of her indignation clashes with the smooth pastoral surface. For a suggestion that Arbuste partly evokes the *commedia dell'arte* character-type known as 'Ruffiana', Hillman (ed. and trans.), *Diane (La Diane)*, Introduction, pp. 14–15.
28 Montreux, *Diane (La Diane)*, II.i.1740–7.
29 *Ibid.*, I.ii.155–6.
30 *Ibid.*, I.ii.165–72.
31 *Ibid.*, I.ii.1009–11.
32 *Ibid.*, III.i.2934–35.
33 *Ibid.*, III.i.2946–9.
34 *Ibid.*, II.iii.2070–155.
35 *Ibid.*, I.ii.181–92, 213–18.
36 *Ibid.*, I.ii.236, 237–8.
37 *Ibid.*, I.ii.242.
38 *Ibid.*, I.ii.269–72.
39 *Ibid.*, I.ii.219–20.
40 *Ibid.*, I.ii.253–4, 261–2.
41 *Ibid.*, I.ii.284.
42 *Ibid.*, I.ii.309, 307–8, 289–90.
43 *Ibid.*, I.ii.315–528.
44 This is among the thematic links with Montemayor cited by Kennedy (ed.), Introduction, *Yong's Translation of George of Montemayor's Diana*, pp. xlix–l.
45 Montreux, *Diane (La Diane)*, I.ii.518.
46 *Ibid.*, I.ii.529–32.
47 *Ibid.*, III.i.3033–4.
48 *Ibid.*, III.i.3041, 3042.
49 *Ibid.*, III.i.3007, 3008–9, 3021.
50 *Ibid.*, III.i.3146, 3153.
51 *Ibid.*, III.i.3176.

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52 *Ibid.*, III.i.3238–9.
53 *Ibid.*, III.i.3260–1, 3246–7.
54 *Ibid.*, III.i.3266–73.
55 *Ibid.*, III.i.3332–3.
56 *Ibid.*, III.i.3271.
57 *Ibid.*, III.i.3294–5.
58 *Ibid.*, III.i.3436[-7].
59 *Ibid.*, III.i.3288, 3326.
60 *Ibid.*, III.i.3416–17.
61 *Ibid.*, III.i.3463–4, 3468–9.
62 *Ibid.*, III.ii.3472–5.
63 *Ibid.*, III.ii.3495–7, 3530–1.
64 *Ibid.*, III.ii.3546–9.
65 *Ibid.*, III.ii.3605.
66 *Ibid.*, III.ii.3646–9.
67 *Ibid.*, III.ii.3676–7.
68 *Ibid.*, III.ii.3749.
69 The similarity has nothing to do with the *Diana* of Montemayor, whose story of Felix and Felismena has been left behind by Shakespeare at this point and is never followed by Montreux.
70 Montreux, *Diane* (*La Diane*), III.ii.3768, 3804.
71 *Ibid.*, III.ii.3880–1.
72 *Ibid.*, III.ii.3903.
73 *Ibid.*, III.iv.4330 (4331), 4333.
74 *Ibid.*, III.iv.4330.
75 *Ibid.*, III.iii.3992–7.
76 *Ibid.*, III.iii.4051, 4028.
77 *Ibid.*, III.iii.4032–5.
78 *Ibid.*, III.iii.4130–5.
79 *Ibid.*, III.iv.4220–7.
80 *Ibid.*, III.iv.4236.
81 *Ibid.*, III.v.4342–7.
82 *Ibid.*, III.v.4486–7.
83 See Jean-Claude Arnould (ed.), Introduction, Claude de Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz: À l'honneur, et exaltation de l'Amour et des Dames [1553]*, Textes Littéraires Français, 401 (Geneva: Droz, 1991): 'La nouveauté de ces *Discours* est l'invention de l'histoire tragique' (The innovation of these *Discourses* is the invention of the *histoire tragique*) (p. 32).
84 For a thoroughly contextualised summary of such critiques, as well as the responses of Gournay, see Jean-Claude Arnould (ed.), Introduction, Marie le Jars de Gournay, *Le Promenoir de Monsieur de Montaigne: texte de 1641, avec les variantes des éditions de 1594, 1595, 1598, 1599, 1607, 1623, 1636, 1627, 1634*, Études Montaignistes (Paris: H. Champion, 1996), pp. 17–19. A translation

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of the first edition may be found in Marie de Gournay, *Apology for the Woman Writing and Other Works*, ed. and trans. Richard Hillman and Colette Quesnel, with introductions by Richard Hillman, The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 21–67; translations of *Le Proumenoir* are taken from this version, cited as *Promenade*, with some Latin quotations and translations slightly modified. The original is cited (as *Proumenoir*) from Marie le Jars de Gournay, *Le proumenoir de Monsieur de Montaigne. Par sa fille d'alliance* (Paris: Abel l'Angelier, 1594), available on Gallica: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k704622; accessed 16 January 2019.

85 The *Universal Short-Title Catalogue* lists an astonishing thirteen surviving copies, including two at Cambridge University, of the 1594 edition alone: https://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/record/20435; accessed 24 February 2019. In addition to the *Proumenoir* (65 fols), this 12° volume of just over one hundred folios contains a selection of Gournay's poetry, including her able translation into Alexandrine couplets of Book 2 of the *Aeneid*.

86 See Domna C. Stanton, 'Woman as object and subject of exchange: Marie de Gournay's *Le Proumenoir* (1594)', *L'esprit créateur*, 23:2 (1983), 9–25.

87 See, e.g., Patricia Francis Cholakian, Introduction, Marie le Jars de Gournay, *Le Proumenoir de Monsieur de Montaigne (1594)*, Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 408 (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1985), p. 18.

88 Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, pp. 64, 170.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 85.

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 230–70.

91 See Arnould (ed.), Introduction, Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, p. 15.

92 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 3^{r-v}; *Promenade*, p. 30.

93 See Arnould (ed.), Gournay, *Promenoir*, p. 51, n. A, and Arnould (ed.), Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, p. 168, n. 165. The fable had been deployed against plagiarists at least since Horace – as it was, presumably against Shakespeare, as 'an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers', by Robert Greene, in *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit, bought with a million of repentance, etc.* (London: John Danter and John Wolfe for William Wright, 1592; STC 12245), p. 19; modern spelling transcript by Nina Greene, online: www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Greene/Greenes_Groatsworth.pdf; accessed 24 February 2019.

94 Arnould (ed.), Introduction, Gournay, *Promenoir*, pp. 3–4.

95 Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, pp. 112–20.

96 See Cholakian, Introduction, pp. 8–18.

97 Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, p. 270.

98 Gabriel-André Pérouse, 'Claude de Taillemont, enchanteur mondain', in Gabriel-André Pérouse *et al.*, *Actes du colloque sur l'humanisme lyonnais au XVI^{e} siècle, mai 1972* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Genoble, 1974), pp. 201–19, 212–15.

99 See Cholakian, Introduction, p. 15, and Patricia Francis Cholakian, 'The identity of the reader in Marie de Gournay's *Le Proumenoir de Monsieur de Montaigne*

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(1594)', in Sheila Fisher and Janet E. Halley (eds), *Seeking the Woman in Late Medieval and Renaissance Writings* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989), pp. 207–34, 211–12. Cf. Martine Debaisieux, 'Marie de Gournay cont(r)e la tradition: du *Proumenoir de Monsieur de Montaigne* aux versions de l'*Énéide*', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme*, 21:2 (1997), 45–58, esp. p. 48, who develops the intertextual link between the *Proumenoir* and the *Aeneid* in relation to the translation of Book 2 included in the original volume.

100 See above, p. 24.

101 Hence Jonathan Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), p. 120, n. 2, terms Catullus 64 the 'antetype' of Ovid's letter.

102 Arnould (ed.), Gournay, *Promenoir*, p. 58, n. A.

103 Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, *Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne: édition conforme au texte de l'exemplaire de Bordeaux avec les additions de l'édition posthume, etc.*, ed. Pierre Villey and V.-L. Saulnier, rev. edn (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), bk. 3, chapter 4, p. 837B; Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, *Montaigne's Essays*, trans. John Florio, ed. L. C. Harmer, 3 vols, Everyman's Library (London: Dent, 1965), vol. 3, p. 59. In the edition of Villey and Saulnier, the letters A, B and C designate Montaigne's additions to successive originals. Florio's translation (pub. 1603) is cited by volume and page numbers.

104 *Catullus*, ed. Elmer Truesdell Merrill (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1893), 64.136–40, 143–8; cited Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fols 40^{v}-41^{r}. The Latin passages as printed in Gournay's first edition contain numerous errors, and I give Merrill's text except where Gournay employs documented variants; I also retain in line 140 her 'spectare' (for 'sperare'), which gives acceptable sense. The verses omitted by Gournay refer to Theseus' promise of marriage and therefore would not apply to the situation of Alinda, who marries Léontin when she elopes.

105 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 41$^{r\text{-}v}$; *Promenade*, p. 42.

106 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 3, chapter 5, p. 881B; trans. Florio, vol. 3, p. 110.

107 Catullus, 64.71–5.

108 Virgil, *Aeneid*, in Frederick Arthur Hirtzel (ed.), *P. Virgili Maronis Opera*, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 4.1–5.

109 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 19^{v}; *Promenade*, p. 41.

110 Catullus, 64.86–90, cited Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 7r.

111 See Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.622 ff.

112 See, notably, Cholakian, Introduction, pp. 8–18.

113 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 65^{r}; *Promenade*, p. 67.

114 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 65$^{r\text{-}v}$ (original italics); *Promenade*, p. 67.

115 Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, p. 239.

116 See, notably, René Girard, 'Myth and ritual in Shakespeare: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', in Josué V. Harari (ed.), *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 189–212.

117 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 13^{r}; *Promenade*, p. 17.

118 Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, p. 237.

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119 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 13[r]; *Promenade*, p. 37.
120 Taillemont, *Dicours des champs faëz*, p. 241.
121 *Ibid.*, p. 243.
122 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 39[r-v]; *Promenade*, p. 51.
123 Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, p. 249.
124 *Ibid.*, p. 252.
125 *Ibid.*, p. 249.
126 *Ibid.*, p. 261.
127 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 39[r]; *Promenade*, p. 51.
128 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 22[v]; *Promenade*, p. 42. Citation from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. Hugo Magnus (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1892) 6.513; online, Perseus Digital Library, www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Ov.+Met.+6.513&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0029 (accessed 17 January 2019).
129 Arnould (ed.), Gournay, *Promenoir*, p. 103, n. B.
130 Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, p. 81.
131 *Ibid.*
132 *Ibid.*, p. 84.
133 *Ibid.*
134 Arnould (ed.), Introduction, *Discours des champs faëz*, pp. 18–19.
135 See Debaisieux, 'Marie de Gournay cont(r)e la tradition', p. 48, on the sacrifice of the Princess by her father: 'pour amener la paix, elle servira de tribut en épousant le roi ennemi et en s'éloignant de sa terre natale. Si Alinda parvient à échapper à cette première autorité, ce ne sera qu'en subissant une nouvelle contrainte, celle du désir du perfide Léontin' (to bring peace, she serves as tribute by marrying the enemy king and leaving her native land. If Alinda succeeds in escaping this first authority, it is only by submitting to a new constraint, that of the desire of the perfidious Léontin).
136 Catullus, 64.180–3.
137 *Ibid.*, 64.55–7.
138 See, e.g., D'Orsay W. Pearson, '"Unkinde" Theseus: a study in Renaissance mythography', *English Literary Renaissance*, 4 (1974), 276–98, and Barbara A. Mowat, '"A local habitation and a name": Shakespeare's text as construct', *Style*, 23 (1989), 335–51, who aptly describes the Theseus of Shakespeare as '[w]oven from texts not only various but rhetorically and ideologically at odds' (p. 347). Peter Holland, 'Theseus' shadows in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Shakespeare Survey*, 47 (1995), 139–51, finds that 'The mere presence of Theseus … makes the whole of the Theseus myth available' (p. 151). Bate, *Shakespeare and Ovid*, more bluntly observes that 'any half-way educated person in the Renaissance could tell you [that Theseus] was a notorious rapist' – this largely due to the 'well-known tenth letter of the *Heroïdes*' (pp. 136–7).
139 I have found no reason, in the case of *MND*, to suspect Shakespeare's use of Simon Goulart's French edition of Amyot, which demonstrably provided a supplement for *Antony and Cleopatra* (see Hillman, *French Reflections*, pp. 138–41).

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140 In this version, Theseus was compelled by sea conditions to abandon the pregnant Ariadne and, when he later returned for her, was grief-stricken to learn of her death in childbirth; see Plutarch, 'Theseus', in *The liues of the noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by that graue learned philosopher and historiographer, Plutarke of Chaeronea: translated out of Greeke into French by Iames Amyot … and out of French into Englishe, by Thomas North* (London: Thomas Vautroullier, 1579), pp. 10–11.

141 Mary Ellen Lamb, '*A Midsummer Night's Dream*: the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur', *Texas Studies in Language and Literature*, 21 (1979): 478–91, esp. p. 482. The key Ovidian texts, all of which stress the perjury of Theseus, are *Ars Amatoria*, 1.527–64, *Fasti*, 3.460 ff., and esp. *Heroïdes* 10. The last had also been adapted by Chaucer in *The Legend of Good Women*, where, for good villainous measure, Theseus quite casually deserts Ariadne because he finds her sister more attractive (see Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 6.2171–5).

142 Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, in *Amores, Medicamina Faciei Femineae, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris*, ed. E. J. Kenney, Oxford Classical Texts (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1961), 1.529.

143 On the relation between the treatments of Ariadne in Ovid and Catullus, see R. A. Smith, *Poetic Allusion and Poetic Embrace in Ovid and Virgil* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 9–13, and especially Howard Jacobson, *Ovid's Heroides* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 113–27. To my knowledge, the Epithalamium has never been linked to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, while the few parallels observed between the poem and other works of Shakespeare have generally been attributed to the mediation of Ovid. See James A. S. McPeek, *Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939), pp. 269–70, n. 36.

It is notable that the self-abasement of Miranda in *The Tempest*, who vows to Ferdinand, 'To be your fellow / You may deny me, but I'll be your servant, / Whether you will or no' (*Tmp.*, III.i.84–6), which has recalled the Ariadne of Catullus for certain critics (e.g., McPeek, *Catullus*, pp. 19 and 269–70, n. 36), is bathetically anticipated by Helena's offer to play the 'spaniel' (*MND*, II.i.203–10) to Demetrius. McPeek, *Catullus*, pp. 15–18, succeeds in establishing familiarity with the Epithalamium on the part of some contemporary English writers, including John Fletcher, and observes (p. 263, n. 1) that Roger Ascham was aware of Virgil's borrowing from the poem for Dido's complaint.

144 L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 414, was perhaps the first to affirm Shakespeare's use of *Heroïdes* 10. When, in *Mer.*, Lorenzo, expressing his love for Jessica, exclaims (not without irony), 'In such a night / Stood Dido with a willow in her hand / Upon the wild sea-banks, and waft her love / To come again to Carthage' (*Mer.*, V.i.9–12), the image recalls *Heroïdes* 10.41–2, where Ariadne tries to signal to Theseus from a cliff with her veil mounted on a pole. (The *Heroïdes* are cited from *P. Ovidi Nasonis Epistulae*

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Heroidum, ed. Heinrich Dörrie (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971)). The detail is also taken over by Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women*, 6.2202–5.

145 The complaint of Ovid's 'femina periuri fraude sepulta viri' (woman destroyed by the deceit of a perjured man) (*Heroïdes*, 10.76) draws very close to that of the suffering Alinda, but it is one telling detail that clinches the influence. When the narrator pities Alinda for having to die without her mother present to weep for her and close her eyes (Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 61^{v}; *Promenade*, p. 65), Gournay clearly recalls *Heroïdes* 10.119–20: 'Ergo ego nec lacrimas matris moritura videbo / nec, mea qui digitis lumina condat, erit' (And so, in dying, I shall see no mother's tears, nor will she be there to close my eyes with her fingers). This sets the seal on the link developed by Gournay between Alinda and her mother, whereas in Taillemont's version the heroine's mother has died before the story begins. Still, in keeping with her interweaving of the stories of Ariadne and Dido, Gournay actually quotes at this point from the *Aeneid*, adapting to the third person the words of Anna kissing her dying sister: 'et, extremus si quis super halitus errat, / ore legam' (and, if any final breath strays from her, may I catch it with my mouth) (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.684–5).

146 The scepticism of T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespere's Small Latine and Less Greeke*, 2 vols (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), regarding 'any direct knowledge of Catullus on the part of Shakespeare' (vol. 2, pp. 552–3), is still *de rigueur*; cf. Colin Burrow, *Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity*, Oxford Shakespeare Topics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), whose two passing mentions of Catullus (pp. 10, 18) effectively endorse this view.

147 Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, lines 893 ff. See John S. Mebane, 'Structure, source, and meaning in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 24 (1982), 255–70, for a reading (though without the ironic dimension) of *MND* as indebted to *The Knight's Tale's* for 'a framing plot which encompasses a story of younger lovers' romantic mischances' (p. 255).

148 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fos 19^{v}–20^{r}; *Promenade*, p. 41; citing Catullus, 64.94–5. The standard texts give the adverb 'misere', which one might suspect Gournay of altering to focus more pointedly on her heroine.

149 Catullus, 64.21.

150 See Pearson, '"Unkinde" Theseus', p. 296, as well as Larry Langford, 'The story shall be changed: the Senecan sources of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Cahiers élisabéthains*, 25 (1984), 37–51, who explores the allusions to Seneca, including the *Hippolytus*. Langford proposes a stimulating reading of the 'Senecan shadows' of destructive passion 'waiting for their cue that, in this play' (p. 50) – unlike others, such as *Romeo and Juliet* (p. 46) – 'never comes' (p. 50). For a survey of the allusions in question, see Harold F. Brooks (ed.), William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, The Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (London: Methuen, 1979), pp. 139–45.

151 Catullus, 64.335–6.

152 *Ibid.*, 6.405.

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153 Lamb, '*A Midsummer Night's Dream*: the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur', p. 486. Holland, 'Theseus' shadows', who is generally wary of source-based approaches to the play (p. 140), expresses doubt about Lamb's symbolic application of the labyrinth motif (p. 150). Arguably, the recent precedent of Gournay's transformation of Taillemont's literal maze into a psychological one lends the reading considerable intertextual support.

154 The point is incidental here, but the encounters between courtiers and ladies in the framing narrative come closer stylistically than various sources proposed to the mixture of amorous idealism and witty exchange prominent in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

155 Taillemont, *Discours des champs faëz*, p. 239.

156 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

157 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

158 *Ibid.*

159 *Ibid.*, p. 257.

160 *Ibid.*, p. 266.

161 Gournay, *Proumenoir*, fol. 58^{r}; *Promenade*, pp. 62–3; citing Catullus, 64.44–6. (The manuscripts of Catullus all read 'mensae'; Gournay makes the scene grander by making 'table' plural.)

162 Shakespeare's use of the first edition of the *Proumenoir* would be consistent even with the *terminus ad quem* of 26 January 1595 proposed by those who believe that the play was performed on that date for the wedding of William Stanley, Earl of Derby, and Lady Elizabeth Vere. See, e.g., James P. Bednarz, 'Imitations of Spenser in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Renaissance Drama*, 14 (1983), 79–102, 81–2, who also supports the thesis of the influence of the *Epithalamion* of Spenser, then 'hot off the press' (p. 92). This is a point not incompatible with the dramatist's simultaneous interest in the Epithalamium of Catullus.

163 Catullus, 64.135.

164 Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, pp. 404–21.

165 Kenneth Muir, 'Pyramus and Thisbe: a study in Shakespeare's method', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 5 (1954), 141–53; Katherine Duncan-Jones, 'Pyramus and Thisbe: Shakespeare's debt to Moffett cancelled', *Review of English Studies* 32 (1981) 296–301. I find the refutation (largely on the grounds of dating) to be convincing, so I leave Moffett's poem out of account.

166 Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, p. 375; Wolfgang G. Van Emden, 'Shakespeare and the French Pyramus and Thisbe tradition, or whatever happened to Robin Starveling's part?', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 11 (1975), 193–204.

167 *Pyrame et Thisbé*, in Émmanuèle Baumgartner (ed.), *Pyrame et Thisbé, Narcisse, Philoména: Trois contes du XII^{e} siècle français imités d'Ovide*, bilingual edn, Folio Classique (Paris: Gallimard, 2000), pp. 22–81.

168 Van Emden, 'Shakespeare and the French Pyramus and Thisbe tradition', pp. 199–200.

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169 Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, pp. 375–6, and, for the text, 'N. R.', *The Tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe* [*Tragoedia miserrima Pyrami & Thisbes fata enuncians. Historia ex Publio Ovidio*], pp. 411–22.

170 Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, p. 374, citing E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923), vol. 4, p. 283.

171 Louis A. Montrose, 'A kingdom of shadows', in David L. Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington (eds), *The Theatrical City: London's Culture, Theatre and Literature, 1576–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Pres, 1995), pp. 68–86, 81.

172 Peter Holland (ed.), Introduction, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 1–117, 90–2.

173 The only edition in modern times is *Moralité nouvelle de Pyramus et Tisbee, publiée d'après un exemplaire de la Bibliothèque Royale de Dresde*, ed. Émile Picot, *Bulletin du bibliophile*, January 1901 (Paris: Librairie Henri Leclerc, 1901), pp. 5–39.

174 Hardin Craig, *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 343.

175 On the very slim evidence concerning the work's origins, see Picot (ed.), *Moralité nouvelle*, pp. 5–14, who also records that a play on the subject was performed at Lille in 1598 as part of the festivities celebrating the Peace of Vervins; this at least shows the theme's adaptability in dramatic form to public occasions on the French side of the Channel.

176 Picot (ed.), *Moralité nouvelle*, pp. 8, 12. For a discussion of this Dutch treatment (and another unpublished one) in the context of the narrative and dramatic traditions, see Peter Happé, 'Pyramus and Thisbe: rhetoricians and Shakespeare', in Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé (eds), *Urban Theatre in the Low Countries, 1400–1625* (Tournhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 149–68.

177 *Records of Early English Drama: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, ed. Audrey W. Douglas and Peter Greenfield (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), pp. 259, 359, documents the presence at the Christmas festivities of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in 1520–1, of French players (including two women), who acted 'the passion of oure lorde by a vise [*sic*]' (here meaning 'device'?). Even if religious subjects are likely to have met with disapproval in later years, such visits by French troupes to private houses did not necessarily cease.

178 On the practice of selling texts to acting troupes, whether amateur or professional, by advertising the doubling possibilities, hence the small cast needed, see T. W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume and Acting* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1958), pp. 29–30. Craik points out that the advertising was sometimes deceptive, and it may be to the point that the Lion is left out of the list in the *Moralité*. Notices aimed at small companies, sometimes with suggestions for cuts, begin in England at least with John Rastell's *Four Elements* (*c.* 1520) – see *Three Rastell Plays: Four Elements, Calisto and Melibea, Gentleness and Nobility*, ed. Richard Axton (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979), p. 30 – and abound thereafter, figuring, e.g., on the title pages of Lewis Wager, *The life and repentaunce of Marie Magdalene*

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(1566); Thomas Garter, *The Most Virtuous and Godly Susanna* (1578); and Nathaniel Woodes, *The conflict of conscience* (1581). A telling example is the perennially popular anonymous romance *Mucedorus* (London: William Jones, 1598), with its instructions for doubling and assurance that 'Eight persons may easily play it'; with the 'amplified' version issued by Jones in 1610, the number became ten, and this indication continued to appear through the last recorded edition (1668), suggesting the persistence into the Restoration of some local theatrical practices. For a seventeenth-century French parallel, see below, Chapter 5, p. 197, n. 63.

179 On the theatricality of these two bears, see John Pitcher (ed.), *The Winter's Tale*, The Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2010), p. 143, n. to 'The names of the actors', line 34.

180 'N. R.', *The Tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe*, p. 419 (v.12 SD).

181 *Ibid.*, v.26 SD.

182 Though not, as it happens, with the *Ovide moralisé* tradition: the medieval poem of *Pyrame et Thisbé* specifies 'la trace dou lïon' (see below, p. 62), while (despite one 'Liones' perhaps echoing 'uns lïons' in *Pyrame et Thisbé* (line 636)) the references are uniformly masculine in Proctor, *A gorgious Gallery, of gallant Inuentions, etc.* (London: [W. How] for Richard Jones), 1578), sig. Oiv^{v}.

183 'N. R.', *The Tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe*, v.14, 16, 18, 58.

184 *Moralité nouvelle*, line 363 SD. In the Parisian theatre of the baroque period, elaborate mechanical devices were sometimes used to imitate animals, especially in extravagant tragicomedies. See Laurent Mahelot, *Le Mémoire de Mahelot: mémoire pour la décoration des pièces qui se représentent par les Comédiens du Roi*, ed. Pierre Pasquier, Sources Classiques, 58 (Paris: H. Champion, 2005), pp. 97–8. It is hard to square this practice, however, with the resources of a small provincial or amateur troupe a hundred years earlier – or indeed with the virtuoso performance required of the lion in the *Moralité*. An actor must have played the role, a procedure the Mechanicals take for granted.

185 *Moralité nouvelle*, line 356 SD.

186 *Ibid.*, line 363 SD.

187 *Ibid.*, lines 360–3.

188 *Ibid.*, line 363 SD.

189 See notably Holland (ed.), *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, n. to III.i.61, who resists the persuasive argument of Craik, *The Tudor Interlude*, p. 18, that an audience would have known bringing in a wall to be a simple affair.

190 Cf. Proctor, *A gorgious Gallery*, sig. Oii^{r}.

191 *Moralité nouvelle*, line 178.

192 Cf. Chaucer, *The Legend of Good Women*, 2.756–69:

> Thus wolde they seyn: 'Alas, thow wikkede wal!
> Thorgh thyn envye thow us lettest al.
> …
> But, natheles, yit be we to thee holde,

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> In as muche as thow sufferest for to gon
> Oure wordes thourgh thy lym and ek thy ston.
> Yit oughte we with the been wel apayd.'
> And whan these ydele wordes weren sayd,
> The colde wal they wolden kisse of ston,
> And take here leve and forth they wolden gon.

This and other points raise the complex question, which cannot be pursued here, of Chaucer's recourse to the *Ovide moralisé* in one or more versions; the question has, not surprisingly, been raised before – see, e.g., Sanford Brown Meech, 'Chaucer and the *Ovide Moralisé* – a further study', *PMLA*, 46 (1931), 201–4, n. 105; Maggie Burns, 'Classicizing and medievalizing Chaucer: the sources for Pyramus' death-throes in the *Legend of Good Women*', *Neophilologus,* 81 (1997), 637–47; and Sheila Delany, 'The Naked Text: Chaucer's "Thisbe", the *Ovide Moralisé*, and the problem of *translatio studii* in *The Legend of Good Women*', *Mediaevalia*, 13 (1987), 275–94.

193 *Moralité nouvelle*, lines 208–15.

194 *Ibid.*, line 272.

195 *Ibid.*, lines 284–6.

196 Chaucer *The Legend of Good Women*, 2.788–9. With Hermia's swearing 'truly' to meet 'By all the vows that ever men have broke – / In number more than ever women spoke' (*MND*, I.i.178, 175–6), cf. Chaucer's moralising comment, as Thisbe goes to meet Pyramus:

> For alle hire frendes – for to save hire trouthe –
> She hath forsake; allas, and that is routhe
> That evere women wolde been so trewe
> To truste man, but she the bet hym knewe.
> (*The Legend of Good Women*, 2.798–801)

The moral matches the premise of Chaucer's poem, which, as previously discussed, includes the tragedies of Dido and Ariadne.

197 The redaction of Baïf, to be considered more fully below, does have Pyrame assuring Thisbe, 'Ne failliré de me trouver aussi ' (You will also not fail to find me), and urging her, 'Mais n'y fau point' (But do not fail in this by any means) (Jean-Antoine de Baïf, *Le meurier, ou la fable de Pyrame et Thisbe*, in *Euvres en rime. Première partie: Neuf Livres des Poemes,* ed. Jean Vignes, Guy Demerson, Perrine Galand-Hallyn *et al.*, *Œuvres complètes*, Textes de la Renaissance (Paris: H. Champion, 2002), lines 204–5).

198 Again, the Mechanicals recycle a moment focusing the question of life or death from the previous action – Helena's discovery of the sleeping Lysander:

> Lysander! on the ground?
> Dead, or asleep? I see no blood, no wound.
> Lysander, if you live, good sir, awake.
> (*MND*, II.ii.100–2)

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The echo is pointed out by Nial Rudd, 'Pyramus and Thisbe in Shakespeare and Ovid: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Metamorphoses* 4.1–166', in David West and Tony Woodman (eds), *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), pp. 173–93, 188, although it is not Ovidian. Rudd's discussion of the inter-echoing of the lovers' plot and the Pyramus and Thisby interlude remains illuminating.

199 On this point, cf. Burns, 'Classicizing and medievalizing Chaucer, pp. 638–9.
200 'N. R.', *The Tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe*, iv.63, 64–5.
201 *Moralité nouvelle*, lines 470–6.
202 The only other exception I know is the doggerel summary offered by the anonymous 'A New Sonet of Pyramus and Thisbe', in Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, pp. 409–11.
203 Chaucer *The Legend of Good Women*, 2.825.
204 'N. R.', *The Tragedy of Pyramus and Thisbe*, v.4–5.
205 *Pyrame et Thisbé*, line 615.
206 *Ibid.*, lines 660–7.
207 *Ibid.*, line 711.
208 *Ibid.*, lines 713–15.
209 Proctor, *A gorgious Gallery,* sig. Oiii^{r}.
210 On the place of the poem in Baïf's œuvre, see Baïf, *Le meurier*, ed. Vignes, Demerson, Galand-Hallyn *et al.,* p. 741.
211 Baïf, *Le meurier*, lines 253–5.
212 *Ibid.*, lines 539–40.
213 *Ibid.*, line 553.
214 *Ibid.*, lines 546, 547–8.
215 *Ibid.*, lines 385–96.
216 Muir, 'Pyramus and Thisbe', p. 153.
217 See above, p. 24.
218 Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, p. 375.
219 Baïf, *Le meurier*, lines 373–4.
220 *Moralité nouvelle,* lines 258–9, 318–19.
221 *Ibid.*, lines 534, 540, 540–3.
222 *Ibid.*, lines 541–3.
223 *Ibid.*, line 548.
224 With regard to this detail, Van Emden, 'Shakespeare and the French Pyramus and Thisbe tradition', p. 202, conjectures a confusion on Shakespeare's part stemming from *A gorgious Gallery*, but that poem, unlike the French works cited, makes no mention of shade.
225 Baïf, *Le meurier*, line 293.
226 *Ibid.,* lines 305, 306–8.
227 *Ibid.*, lines 627–30.

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3

French settings found and lost: *Love's Labour's Lost* and *As You Like It*

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This chapter will be brief because its focus is narrow and its main point simple. I propose to consider the French settings of these two middle-to-late comedies (*c.* 1595 and 1599, respectively) as a factor that would have rendered audience response to their romantic plots more complex, essentially by taking openly 'French' raw material in two contrary directions at once: on the one hand, mythicising it – that is, detaching it from spectators' specific knowledge and assumptions; on the other hand, opening up a competing 'realistic' perspective. The latter provides at least gently ironic commentary on the gap between comic convention and the world outside the theatre. Such is the case in *As You Like It*. As the contrasting title might suggest, that commentary is more piquant in *Love's Labour's Lost*, finally allowing an overhang of the tragic to cast a palpable shadow: 'the scene begins to cloud' (*LLL*, V.ii.721). But it is, I believe, in the last play of the trio set in France, whose very title suggests the uneasy realisation of comic potential, that the tragic thoroughly permeates the French landscape – to the point where I previously included discussion of *All's Well That Ends Well* (1602–3) in a study of Shakespearean tragedy.[1] The development of the problematic there is extensive, and I will not retrace it here, but it boils down to a notion that seems useful as well in exploring the earlier plays – that of a doubleness built into (or drawn out of) the French setting itself. In *All's Well That Ends Well*, that setting virtually divides into two 'Roussillons', which remain in mutual suspension: one derived from Boccaccio's medieval source story and in line with its fairy-tale premises; the other making itself felt in the background and mandating the work's insistent tragic overtones. The latter are abetted by deflationary French intertexts, notably narratives of the French wars in Italy and the French Wars of Religion. I suggest that this effect is anticipated, less radically but in roughly parallel ways, in the two earlier comedies, with the dramatic manipulation of 'Frenchness' effectively generating a perceptible doubleness of place: a court of Navarre idyllically exotic and inhabited by a range of fantastic figures, some

of whom carry down-to-earth political associations; a homely forest of 'Arden' that is also the romantically infused Ardennes.

Such an approach implies that, given an audience's pre-existing perceptions and forms of knowledge, what may conveniently be termed its 'French associations', France could not function as a 'neutral' background for infinite comic possibility. A basic contrast may be drawn here, first, with the fantastic neo-classical Ephesis of *The Comedy of Errors*, as with the medievalised legendary Athens of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and the never-never-land of Illyria where *Twelfth Night*'s Viola is shipwrecked. (It may not be beside the point that all three locales were actually under Ottoman domination in Shakespeare's day.) The effective de-localisation of these settings is actually enhanced by the flagrant Englishness of their comic characters, and it is not impinged on by the French – or other – intertexts that share the discursive space. The Vienna of *Measure for Measure* is not so much de-localised as dislocated, at once distanced from reality and evoking various realities across a range of intertexts – Italian, English and French, but not in any meaningful way Viennese. Negotiating some of these will be the business of part of the following chapter.

The most important distinction to be made here is with Shakespeare's Italian settings – of *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merchant of Venice*. These deserve, and have abundantly received, special attention. Audience perception in these cases, moreover, is bound to carry a further dimension: the sense of genre becomes self-reflexive, insofar as Italian stories, character-types and literary patterns are recognisably on display. This is hardly the place to develop the point, but it is fair to state that, by comparison with his French settings, Shakespeare creates Italian play-worlds that are at once more exotic, more stable and closer to self-contained (again, leaving aside at least some of the clowns, for others are resolutely within the Italian traditions of *commedia erudita* and, especially, *commedia dell' arte*). According to the principle of cross-channel reading, viewing and interpreting that I have explored at length elsewhere,[2] Frenchness tends to lead at once away from, and back towards, Englishness.

Critical labour's lost

On the surface, *Love's Labour's Lost* is the Shakespearean text in any genre most amenable to readings in terms of contemporary, or nearly contemporary, French facts. Its perhaps over-generous invitation has been accepted by numerous commentators, some more confident than others, usually in search of solutions to a presumed political puzzle, a comedy *à clef*. (A similar

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mentality is at work in the efforts to pin down allusions, satirical or otherwise, to various Elizabethan personalities.[3]) Such propositions go back at least to the nineteenth century and include, notably, the detection by Abel Lefranc of an allusion to the embassies of Marguerite de Valois and Catherine de Medici to Henri de Navarre (Marguerite's then-husband) in 1578 and 1580.[4] Scholarly introductions to the play routinely record readings in this vein, more or less non-committally, and they are regularly renewed, with variations.[5] Even where hard-edged identification gives way to more or less supple ideological frameworks, moreover, as when Richard Wilson evokes, across the play-text, the politico-religious situation in 1593 in the cause of illustrating Shakespeare's 'commitment to toleration',[6] topical approaches presuppose and must take into account an audience's imaginative engagement with familiar figures. It is my contention that one should not underestimate the degree of familiarity to be assumed, hence the distancing effect of factual discrepancies.

There is no doubt that the French Wars of Religion and attendant problems of succession (and European stability, especially given the crucial role of Spain) were very much on the mind of the English public at least until 1598, the year of the final collapse of the Holy League, the Peace of Vervins and the Edict of Nantes. *Love's Labour's Lost* is known to have been played at court in the same year (or the year before), and whether its composition and first staging should be dated around 1595, as majority opinion now favours, or closer to 1590, the shadowing of recent French affairs in a broad way would have been impossible to ignore. Also implicated is the still more elusive and variable effect (sometimes enhanced by revision) of revisiting 'dated' allusions in fresh contexts – an issue germane to cases ranging from Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*, as performed after Henri de Navarre's conversion, to Shakespeare's *Henry V*, recalling in 1599 the French civil war pamphlets[7] and indeed rewriting its anonymous precursor, *The Famous Victories* (no doubt pre-1590 but published 1598). In any case, it remains an incontrovertible fact that the comedy's principal characters – the King of Navarre (though not as Ferdinand, as in some stage directions and speech headings), Berowne (that is, Biron), Longaville (Longueville) and Dumain (de Mayenne) – carry noble titles attached to actual players on the French political scene and well known from the numerous pamphlets that had circulated for years, in both French and English, purveying news, rumours and polemics.[8] To dismiss this aspect of the play as accessory to the romantic comic action and its witty trimmings, which are, of course, abundant, diverse and diverting, is artificially to truncate contemporary dramatic experiences.

It is also arguably to block a major source of the subversive darker notes attached to the comic pattern. These flagrantly extend to the deferral of

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marriage, the emblem *par excellence* of comic fulfilment, in the shadow of death – not only the demise of the King of France but the universal mortality which the lovers must come to terms with as penance imposed by the ladies. The forty years of religious civil wars in France were a serious and bloody business. Indirectly, it is this background to the romantic action, at once evoked and occluded, that stakes a tragic claim ratified at the conclusion, both generically and in human terms. Berowne is the spokesman for both perspectives:

> Our wooing doth not end like an old play:
> Jack hath not Gill. These ladies' courtesy
> Might well hae made our sport a comedy.
> (*LLL*, V.ii.874–6)

> To move wild laughter in the throat of death?
> It cannot be, it is impossible:
> Mirth cannot move a soul in agony.
> (855–7)

And of course it is Winter, not Spring, that sounds the concluding note.

But if the play's implicit assertion of French political meanings is insistent, the problem persists of finding a coherent pattern that fits any set of historical facts without forcing the text. I will take the risk here of suggesting, not only that this has yet to be done, but that it cannot be – and that this fact, too, is part of the meaning. For the more one knows about the situations vaguely evoked and the personages signalled by the titles, the more they resist being extracted from the romantic framework and placed securely within a politico-religious one.

At the core of this resistance is the friendly compact (despite Berowne's reservations) figured in the men's courtly academy. For it remains to be demonstrated that there ever was a historical moment when Henri de Navarre was in alliance, not to mention friendly intimacy, with all of the Catholic dukes of Biron (father and/or son), of Longueville and of Mayenne. After the assassination of Henri III (1589), Navarre did attract the political support of Biron (Armand de Gontaut), his erstwhile bitter foe, as well as of the latter's son Charles, and of Longueville. But the Duke of Mayenne, as chief of the Holy League (following the assassination of his brother, the Duke of Guise, in 1588), remained his arch-enemy until battlefield defeats, decisively at Fontaine-Française on 5 June 1595, compelled his submission in November of that year (on generous legal and material terms, as ratified by the Edict of Folembray in January 1596, for which Henri had difficulty in obtaining legislative approval).[9] In any case, it bespeaks critical wishful thinking, such as would hardly have occurred to any contemporary audiences except as pure

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fantasy, to imagine Mayenne as capable of rallying to the new king's cause at any point.[10]

Moreover, even the first audiences of *Love's Labour's Lost* – and even if one supposes an early date – would have had an image of these figures as well on in years, if still alive: the elder Biron (b. 1524) fell in battle in 1592; Longueville died in 1595; at that point Mayenne was over forty. The idea of these mostly rebarbative, often brutal, power-mongers making courteous love, not war, and doing so in unity, shoves the French setting not just far back in history, but out of it. And the figures so excluded prominently include Henri de Navarre himself, who was hardly known either for intellectual interests or for eschewing female company. As for the chief representative of that company, any historical identification of the princess who comes in embassy to Navarre is equally unstable. That she is the daughter of the ruling French monarch precludes, as if pointedly, an identification with either Marguerite de Valois or Catherine de Medici, even if other elements were in accord.

Faced with such an impasse, it would appear that the interpretative impulse must recognise the apparent invitation to political puzzle-solving as deceptive – and allow for a similar double perspective, with its resulting tension, on the part of contemporary audiences: on the one hand, an evocation of harsh political realities (and charged religious ones – the language of heresy and perjury has often been noted); on the other hand, a universe of banter and play, both love-play and plays on words. In these terms, the quasi-theatrical playing of the Nine Worthies finally performs a function akin to that of Pyramus and Thisbe, recapitulating generic tension by blending comic performance with serious content. In this case, moreover, the serious side echoes the framework by likewise flaunting a nominal claim to historical substance, deploying names that evoke eminent warriors but in a way absurdly at odds with reality.

A telling difference is that, in contrast with the blithe immunity to ridicule broadly displayed by Peter Quince and company (despite the confusion forced on Moonshine at *MND*, V.i.239 ff.), the amateur players here are drawn into the tragic ambiance of the ending. This begins with their hurt feelings, which evoke the mortality of the characters they play. As Armado expresses it on behalf of Hector: 'The sweet war-man is dead and rotten, sweet chucks, beat not the bones of the buried. When he breathed, he was a man' (*LLL*, V.ii.660–2). The pageant then dissolves into parodic but 'real' combat between Armado-Hector and Costard-Pompey, and the remaining dimension of play is quickly dispelled by the shadow cast by Marcade. Again, Berowne is the voice of generic transition: 'Worthies, away! the scene begins to cloud' (721).

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Since the pageant is broken up, it is not surprising that this historical display never arrives at the three so-called Christian Worthies, presumably slated to appear 'if their first show thrive' (*LLL*, V.ii.538), as the King reports. Perhaps strangely, these are not named among the 'good presence of Worthies' (533–4) on the paper he consults at this point, but Shakespeare's audience would have known well that, apart from Arthur, they are traditionally French: Charlemagne and Godefroy de Bouillon.[11] By this means, too, in effect, French heroic history is symbolically deferred, and it might not have escaped notice that the two figures taken to epitomise that history had been specifically appropriated by the ultra-Catholic cause of the House of Lorraine.

Finally, the localisation of the action specifically in Navarre – presumably at Nérac, where the court was located, although no location is named (another deferral mechanism) – contributes to the double perspective. Both the political independence and interdependence of the kingdoms of France and Navarre are embedded in the play's action, and would have been well understood by contemporary audiences. Whether the current King of Navarre would also accede to the French crown – and hold it securely – hovers as an issue in the background. So does the religious question, regardless of whether the play's first performances actually predated the 1593 conversion (as the later ones did not). Built into the Elizabethan sense of Navarre's history and future would have been its proto-Protestant heritage (under Marguerite de Navarre), then its resolute Protestantism (under Jeanne d'Albret), but also the precariousness of this identity. That sense would be tied, not only to Henri's own religion but to the precedent of his father, Antoine de Bourbon, both King of Navarre and French prince of the blood. He had once seemed poised to emerge as the champion of Huguenots throughout France, only to abandon them: he was killed in 1562 fighting on the Catholic side in the first War of Religion.[12]

From this point of view, it appears more significant that the potential for a comic resolution of the love plot is not simply crushed at the conclusion. Rather, it is put to the proof of reality – that is to say, of time, which is 'too long for a play' (V.ii.878). For France itself, it seems, as for the suitors, according to the penances imposed on them, the future depends on displacing selfish and illusory forms of love by mortification, self-examination and caring for others. It is indispensable to defining such a process that an audience's attempts at narrow political interpretations should take place – and that they should fail, just as the lovers' wooing fails, following the failure of their fatuous academy: these prove to be two sides of the same solipsistic coin. The play's political resonances are thus revealed as profoundly imbricated with the amorous intrigue, social harmony with marital harmony. That, surely, is the only key

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that audiences would have found – or that criticism will ever do – to the elusive allusiveness of this most ostentatiously 'French' of all the comedies.

French and English antique worlds

Of the three comedies with French settings, *As You Like It* shows the least disposition towards tragic colouring. There is, of course, the melancholy Jaques, the spokesman for entropic mortality who opts out of the 'dancing measures' at the conclusion (*AYI*, V.iv.193). There are also the offers of violence and distortions of 'natural' human relations associated with Oliver and the court of Frederick, where 'breaking of ribs' is 'sport for ladies' (I.ii.138–9). On the whole, however, the transformative power accorded the natural world, as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* but without supernatural assistance, ensures that such elements are defused, and it is from this perspective that the double functioning of the French setting must be considered.

Paradoxically, that setting is actually rendered less specifically and actively French than in the frankly declared primary source – Thomas Lodge's novel *Rosalynde* (pub. 1590) – by a twofold process of rewriting. On the one hand, certain places and persons are more or less Anglicised; others, by contrast, are symbolically and mythically charged. *Rosalynde* is a loose assemblage of romantic pastoral discourses, prose and verse, roughly on the model of Sidney's *Arcadia*, though with a doggedly euphuistic bent (its subtitle is *Euphues' Golden Legacy*). Nevertheless, its claims to tell a specifically French story are remarkably insistent, and these are essentially volatilised in the dramatisation. The mimetic middle ground, which might invite the supplement of French associations, is crowded out. In this respect, the dramatic representation of France runs counter to the tendency of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

To take up, first, the partial Anglicisation of Lodge's narrative, in a way reminiscent of John Lyly's minglings of native and exotic details, *As You Like It* adds several elements that would make an English audience feel at home. These include Touchstone, recognisable both as a character-type and as an actor (Robert Armin), as well as down-to-earth shepherds (Corin, William) – one with a forthright English name, the other with one established in the English rustic tradition.[13] There is also, most importantly, the evocation of Robin Hood. The effect is to draw Ardennes towards Arden, even while dragging along with it much of the apparatus of romantic pastoral, including the more literary shepherds (Sylvius, Phoebe). For, to paraphrase Fluellen, there are lions in both.

The process is facilitated by nominal identity – for 'Arden' is the only form of the name in Lodge as well – but it goes well beyond. Shakespeare's

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adaptations of character, action and theme have naturally received a great deal of attention. Commentators have largely been content, however, to salute what Mary Lascelles termed the 'gay and graceful mixture of the old stories of Sherwood justice with the new, fashionable, pastoral romances',[14] while neglecting the presence of geographical and national particulars. Certainly, the France of Lodge is flagrantly ahistorical, in stark contrast to the historical teasing of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Slicing across the centuries, it features a usurping king called Torismond, whose name evokes a fifth-century ruler of the Visigoths, but also a noble knight, Sir John of Bourdeaux, recalling the high Middle Ages, as the father of the three brothers. Lodge nevertheless embellished his fictional world with surprising French specificity. The middle brother is not vaguely 'at school' (*AYL*, I.i.5), as in Shakespeare, but several times identified as a 'Scholler' at the university in Paris.[15] The two other brothers undertake journeys that are described with more or less convincing precision. Thus Rosader (the original of Orlando) 'stole away through the province of Bourdeaux and escaped safe to the forest of Arden … thinking still to passe on by the bywaies to get to *Lions*'.[16] Later, Saladyne (who sheds his Saracen-flavoured name to become Shakespeare's Oliver), after being banished from 'the Court and Countrey of *France*', wanders in the Ardennes, 'thinking to get to *Lions*, and so travell through *Germanie* into *Italy*'.[17] And if Lodge's forest, unlike Shakespeare's, features lemon trees, which confuses the geography somewhat, to get there one plausibly travels 'along the Vineyards'.[18] The reader never forgets that the setting is French: the model for Charles the wrestler is an anonymous 'Norman'; Phoebe is 'the fairest shepherdess in all France'; Saladyne is summoned to present himself at the royal court by a 'Herehault'.[19]

As this last detail suggests, the realm is endowed with a coherent political organisation; at its centre is a king who rules from Paris. This makes for a stark contrast with Shakespeare's unspecified duchy, whose rightful ruler ('Duke Senior' in the *Dramatis Personae*) lacks even a name. In Lodge, the ultimate restoration of the legitimate king (Gerismond) is effected by a battle led by 'the twelve Peeres of *France*', who cry '*Saint Denis*'; the 'Peeres' then 'conducted him royally into *Paris*', and there ensued a distribution of honours, including 'the Dukedome of *Nameurs*'.[20] And if Rosader is made heir to the crown by his marriage with Rosalynde, contrary to the Salic law, this particular fantasy corresponds to the English view of what the French reality should be, as expounded in *Henry V* and elsewhere.

Lodge's depiction of a plausibly familiar, if generic, France nevertheless meets with a certain intertextual resistance, stemming from a source of his own, when it comes to the loyal old servant who succours Rosader and

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accompanies him to Arden: 'one *Adam Spencer* an English man'.[21] In fact, this Adam is evidently less old than he becomes in *As You Like It* ('almost fourscore' (*AYI*, II.iii.71)) and certainly a lot more vigorous, for he fights valiantly to assist Rosader's escape early in the story, and at the end participates in the battle, after which he is made 'Captaine of the Kings Gard'.[22] Lodge's Adam might as well be French, but Shakespeare notably seizes the opportunity of making him English in a symbolically meaningful way. When the fugitives are on the point of starvation, Lodge's character is simply given a long discourse on fortune and a resolution to kill himself.[23] Shakespeare makes his Adam, to the point of caricature, the incarnation of a recognisably English nostalgia for a past ideal of harmonious class relations – witness Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, Ben Jonson's 'To Penshurst' – and the instrument of satire against present degeneracy:

> O good old man, how well in thee appears
> The constant service of the antique world,
> When service sweat for duty, not for meed!
> Thou art not for the fashion of these times,
> Where none will sweat but for promotion.
> (*AYI*, II.iii.56–60)

Intertexually speaking, in thus recuperating the 'merry old' Englishness of Adam, Shakespeare was also repatriating the principal source of Lodge's novel itself. That source is the fourteenth-century poetic narrative, traditionally attributed to Chaucer, known as *The Tale of Gamelyn*, in which 'Adam Spencere' – that is, one who dispenses the provisions – plays an analogous role. It has not been possible to prove that Shakespeare knew this text, which had not been published but existed in numerous manuscripts. As Bullough points out, however, since Lodge evidently had read it, Shakespeare might also have done so.[24] What is striking from the present perspective is that there is absolutely nothing French about *Gamelyn*, including the names of people and places. The forest is not identified at all. On the other hand, its representation of the outlaws found there is highly reminiscent of the band of Robin Hood as depicted in many tales, and it is in *As You Like It*, not *Rosalynde*, that this comparison is made (by Charles the wrestler) and placed in its national context:

> They say he is already in the forest of Arden, and a many merry men with him; and there they live like old Robin Hood of England. They say many young gentlemen flock to him every day, and fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world. (*AYI*, I.i.114–19)

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By further contrast, Lodge makes a clear distinction between the noble lords exiled in his forest and another band of outlaws far less sympathetic: 'Certaine Rascalls that lived by prowling in the Forrest'.[25] These have the idea of obtaining their pardon by making a present of Aliena to the usurping king, 'a great lechour';[26] it is tempting to suspect a certain influence on the equivocal outlaws of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

Whether thanks to the mediation of *Gamelyn* or not, it is clear that Shakespeare substantially mitigated the claim to Frenchness which Lodge had taken pains to stake as part of furnishing a suitably exotic setting for a euphuistic romance. The French setting as retained by the playwright is stripped of geographical precision and not accentuated as such: the word 'France' occurs only once in the text – 'it is the stubbornest young fellow of France' (*AYI*, I.i.134) – the adjective 'French' not at all. Certainly, a few distinctively French names are deployed – Jaques, Amiens, Frederick (Frédéric), Le Beau – but with the exception of the last, who fills the role of the stereotypical French courtier and can thus be greeted satirically with '*Bon jour*, Monsieur Le Beau' (I.ii.97) – the characters seem thoroughly naturalised as English. (There is no question, of course, either here or in *Love's Labour's Lost* – or for that matter in *All's Well That Ends Well* – of absurd Franglais such as Doctor Caius babbles in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.)

With regard to names, more revealing is the playwright's invention of the mythically over-determined 'Rowland de Boys' to designate the ancestor of the three brothers. The name contrasts with the prosaic 'John of Bourdeaux' and matches the association of his memory, along with his former servant Adam, with the golden age of personal and political loyalty and justice. It is necessary for this effect that he should be nothing but a memory – and, symbolically, a testament – when the play begins. Lodge, on the other hand, opens his narrative with a straightforward portrait of this wise and valiant knight, then gives him a deathbed oration dispensing moral advice in a style recalling Polonius, but more euphuistic. It includes a pointed ('above all'[27]) warning against love and, particularly, the temptations of women – incongruously enough for the subsequent narrative, one would have thought, and out of the question as a model for *As You Like It*. Shakespeare's renaming of the equivalent figure is part of setting nominally French factuality aside, this time in favour of a highly evocative fusion of symbolism at once French and English: 'Rowland de Boys' (from 'bois' (wood)) remarkably serves to unite French heroic legend with a transnational pastoral mythology.

Indeed, Shakespeare's uncanny anticipation of the universal French name for Robin Hood, '*Robin des Bois*', might suggest an origin for this appellation considerably anterior to modern popular versions, although proof

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remains elusive.[28] The legends of Robin Hood are generally assumed to be of English origin, but Stephen Knight argues for importation at least of the basic character-types, along with the names Robin and Marion, from French *pastourelles*, singling out the thirteenth-century pastoral troubadour entertainment of Adam de La Halle (or 'Adam le Bossu'), *Le jeu de Robin et Marion*.[29] That text presents the added interest of associating the character with the motif and word 'bois'.[30] The *Jeu* situates Robin's rescue of his beloved Marion from the advances of a marauding knight at the boundary between forest and village. The knight first spies her 'lès l'oriere d'un bois' (at the edge of a forest), while the joyous conclusion has the triumphant Robin urging his companions, 'Venés après moi, venés le sentele, / Le sentele, le sentele lès le bos' (Come follow me, take the path, the path, the path into the forest).[31] Already in Lodge, before Shakespeare nominally enriched Rosalind's marriage by matching her with Orlando de Boys, the path into the forest ultimately leads to the marriage of a heroine who reveals her identity in dress evoking the two goddesses Diana and Flora, but also wearing a 'gowne of greene'[32] that recalls, as Juliet Dusinberre points out, 'the traditional dress of Maid Marian in the Robin Hood plays'.[33]

In any case, the mythicising effect of Shakespeare's hero's name is reinforced by a doubling and extending of the allusion through its Italian form Orlando (drawn from Ariosto, as would certainly have been recognised). The name 'Rosader' seems merely to foreshadow the protagonist's match with Rosalynde. Orlando, however, by his very name is destined to pass through his phase as an excessively passionate (yet virtuous lover) to emerge as his father's worthy and legitimate heir.

As both *Love's Labour's Lost* and *All's Well That Ends Well* confirm, the French setting that served Lodge as window-dressing for his medley of romance motifs could not have functioned in the same way for Shakespeare. In his dramaturgical practice generally, as I have argued, which must have taken his audience into account, France inescapably represents the Other which is also the self, and it does so in a way that presumes highly developed political and cultural knowledge. At the same time, whatever its setting, Shakespeare's romantic comedy habitually exploits an interplay between two poles of perception corresponding to its 'two worlds': the real and the imaginary, materiality and magic. It is to sustain this second pole in *As You Like It* that the France supplying its setting must be mythicised, while the down-to-earth specificity supplied by Lodge is transported, by and large, across the Channel.

To conclude this succinct survey, it seems worth suggesting that a further French association, though not one specific to setting, makes itself intertextually visible by its absence from *As You Like It*. If Shakespeare created one synchretic mythic effect by way of 'Roland de Boys', he arguably precluded another

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by changing the name of the friend and confidante of Rosalind. In disguise, she takes on the identity of Aliena in both works, as the eponymous heroine does that of Ganymede. But in Lodge her true name is not Celia but Alinda, which in fact slides more euphonically into her pseudonym. It seems possible that for Shakespeare – hence also, in his judgement, for his public – the name Alinda, as that of the princess-victim of Marie de Gournay's *histoire tragique*, simply carried too much baggage of the wrong kind. I have argued in the previous chapter for a provocative intertextual relation between the *Proumenoir* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It now becomes relevant that the novel's first edition of 1594 was followed by reissues (with revisions) in 1595, 1598 and 1599. Shakespeare's suppression of the name for his dramatic adaptation of *Rosalynde*, which almost certainly dates from 1599, may actually bear indirect witness to the circulation of Gournay's novel among English readers.

Whatever playful ironies accrue to eros in *As You Like It*, it is certainly not a destructive force here, as it unequivocally is in the *Proumenoir*, and as *A Midsummer Night's Dream* reminds us it may be in the absence of fairies to dispel, even as they evoke, its dangers. In the later comedy, the forest by daylight serves as the thoroughly *natural* theatre of operations for the transformative power the fairies apply artificially by moonlight. The operations of nature, moreover, are effected by and through human nature; their culmination, which fulfils the generic trajectory abruptly thwarted in *Love's Labour's Lost*, is Rosalind's ceremony of match-making, at once eminently human, as she stage-manages the recovery and discovery of identities, and potently magical: after all, it mysteriously conjures the god of marriage. But the power of nature-as-human-nature is also displayed by the conversion of Frederick – no battle is needed to recover the banished ruler's right – and by the change of heart of Orlando.

Orlando saves his brother's life by defeating the emblems of savagery lurking in the natural world, as within eros itself. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* also introduces these, of course, if only to exorcise them: the serpent of Hermia's dream, the lion by which Thisby is 'deflow'r'd' (*MND*, V.i.292). It is his own conversion by compassion that effects Oliver's, which in turn *naturally* opens the latter's heart to love between him and Celia. There is no such process or even link in *Rosalynde*; indeed, the relation with Alinda is explicitly presented as a contrivance of Fortune.[34] The formerly wicked brother is simply given the chance to rescue Alinda, when Rosader is unable to do so, from the rude outlaws who had seized her. Love between the grateful damsel and her valiant champion duly follows in the chivalric tradition.

Given Shakespeare's translation of love into something far more complex, and here profoundly positive, the name of Alinda might have threatened to

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cast shadows of a kind inconsistent with a universe, and an outcome, promised by his new title. On this point, then, the playwright may have chosen to intervene because, since 1590, when Lodge published his romance, the name had become problematically mythicised. For readers familiar with both Gournay's and Lodge's texts, moreover – and some such may surely be posited – Shakespeare's change of this single name among the four associated with the two heroines of *Rosalynde* would have stood out. So would the introduction of a note of transcendent spirituality, since Celia ('heavenly') was hardly a widespread name in contemporary England – or, for that matter, in France.[35] Paradoxically, that note might itself have been suggested by Lodge at the point where Ganimede discloses her own true identity: 'some heavenly Nymph harboured in Countrey attire'

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Notes

1 Hillman, *French Reflections*, pp. 150–201.

2 See esp. Hillman, *Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France*, *passim*.

3 For a stimulating recent example, see E. A. J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The 'Lost Years'*, 2nd edn. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), pp. 64–9, whose treatment in terms of teasing allusions to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, Fifth Earl of Derby, extends to a parallel between the latter and the play's Navarre as a potential heir to the French throne. If the play does date from 1592, however, as Honigmann conjectures, Henri de Navarre was then actively defending his title as successor to Henri III in the civil wars obviously evoked by the names of the play's nobles – a point Honigmann ignores.

4 See Abel Lefranc, *Sous le masque de 'William Shakespeare': William Stanley, VI^e^ Comte de Derby*, 2 vols (Paris: Payot, 1918), vol. 2, pp. 17–103. Cf. John Phelps, 'The source of *Love's Labour's Lost*', *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, 17.2 (1942), 97–102.

5 For a survey, see H. R. Woudhuysen (ed.), Introduction, *Love's Labour's Lost*, The Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (Walton-on-Thames: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1998), pp. 1–106, 66–70. A recent redeployment of such allusions is offered by Robert White, 'The cultural impact of the massacre of St Bartholomew's day', in Jennifer Richards (ed.), *Early Modern Civil Discourses* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 183–99, 192–4, who discerns yet another warning to Queen Elizabeth against a French marriage (scarcely a danger, surely, in the 1590s). By contrast, Elizabeth Pentland, 'Shakespeare, Navarre, and Continental history', in Michael Saenger (ed.), *Interlinguicity, Internationality, and Shakespeare* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), pp. 23–45, works hard to push the play's evident referentiality towards an exploration of 'several periods of Navarre's [i.e. the region's] history at once', downplaying the French civil war associations of the prominent names in favour of *navarrois* politico-cultural resonances,

some arguably far-fetched; thus '[t]he name given to Shakespeare's buxom dairymaid, Jaquenetta, cannot but ironically recall Navarre's historical and geographical association' (p. 40) with St Jacques, on whose feast day in 1512 part of Navarre had been annexed to Castile (pp. 39–40).

6 Richard Wilson, '"Worthies away": the scene begins to cloud in Shakespeare's Navarre', in Jean-Christophe Mayer (ed.), *Representing France and the French in Early Modern English Drama* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 93–109, esp. 102.

7 See Hillman, *Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France*, pp. 73–4 *et passim*.

8 On this phenomenon, see Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes From Fraunce: French Anti-League Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1996), and, again, Hillman, *Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France*, *passim*.

9 A concise source of information concerning these personalities and the events they were involved in is Arlette Jouanna, Jacqueline Boucher, Dominique Biloghi *et al.* (eds), *Histoire et dictionnaire des Guerres de Religion* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1998).

10 *Pace* Wilson, '"Worthies away"', who, writing of Mayenne's resistance in Paris (he abandoned the city on 6 March 1594), affirms that the duke 'would soon switch sides to support the king' (p. 103), and Lisa Hopkins, *Renaissance Drama on the Edge* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014): 'the name Dumaine … was particularly resonant because the historical Duc de Mayenne had been wavering between support for Henri IV and support for the Catholic party' (p. 73).

11 The list of the Worthies given is somewhat unorthodox, particularly among the Pagans, with the addition of Hercules and the substitution of Pompey the Great for the usual Julius Caesar, who of course overcame Pompey. One wonders if the latter conveys an in-joke relating to the actor. Cf. the naming of Pompey Bum in *MM*, where Escalus threatens to 'prove a shrewd Caesar' (II.i.248–9) to him. Here Pentland, 'Shakespeare, Navarre, and Continental History', p. 45), detects an allusion to the founder of Pamplona.

12 I have made a case for Antoine de Bourbon's story as active background to *Hamlet* (Hillman, *French Reflections*, 25–54, *passim*).

13 On the old shepherd Corin in *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, see Lindsey Marie Simon-Jones, 'Neighbor Hob and Neighbor Lob: English dialect speakers on the Tudor stage', in Dirk Delabastita and Ton Hoenselaars (eds), *Multilingualism in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: Special Issue of English Text Construction,* 6.1 (2013) (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2013), pp 40–59, esp. 53–4.

14 Lascelles, 'Shakespeare's pastoral comedy', p. 79.

15 Thomas Lodge, *Rosalynde: Euphues golden legacie, etc.*, in Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2: The Comedies, 1597–1603 (1963), pp. 158–256; see pp. 166, 218, 255.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 215.

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18 *Ibid.*, p. 180; for the lemon trees, pp. 183, 224.
19 *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 191, 198.
20 *Ibid.*, pp. 255, 256.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 173.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 256.
23 *Ibid.*, pp. 194–6.
24 Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2, p. 143.
25 Lodge, *Rosalynde*, p. 222.
26 *Ibid.*
27 *Ibid.*, p. 162.
28 To date, specialists in French medieval literature have been unable to enlighten me on this point.
29 Stephen Knight, 'Alterity, parody, habitus: the formation of the early literary tradition of Robin Hood', in Stephen Knight (ed.), *Robin Hood in Greenwood Stood: Alterity and Context in the English Outlaw Tradition*, Medieval Identities: Socio-Cultural Spaces, 1 (Tournhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 1–29, 5. The persistence of 'Robin' as a name within the French pastoral tradition is attested by Clément Marot's wood-dwelling and subversively positioned persona in the 'Eglogue au Roy, soubs les noms de Pan et Robin', in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. François Rigolot, 2 vols (Paris: Flammarion, 2009), vol. 2, pp. 260–73. This poem, cited in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender* in three glosses by 'E. K.' – to 'Colin Cloute' in 'Januarye', 'Thenot' in 'Februarie', and 'Roffy' in 'September' (Edmund Spenser, *The Complete Poetical Works of Spenser*, ed. R. E. Neil Dodge, The Cambridge Poets (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Riverside, 1908), pp. 10, 14, 43), constitutes a religiously and politically charged intertext for Spenser's work; see Annabel Patterson, 'Re-opening the green cabinet: Clément Marot and Edmund Spenser', *English Literary Renaissance*, 16 (1986), 44–70. Intriguingly, Shakespeare's retention of Lodge's name Rosalynde also produces an overlap with *The Shepheardes Calender*.
30 To the possible origins of the surname 'Hood' enumerated by Knight, 'Alterity', pp. 6–7, might just as reasonably be added some deformation, oral or scribal, of 'wood'.
31 Adam de La Halle, *Le jeu de Robin et Marion*, ed. Ernest Langlois, 2nd edn rev. (Paris: H. Champion, 1923), lines 98, 779–80. R. H. Hilton, 'The origins of Robin Hood', *Past and Present*, 14 (1958), 30–44, adduces an anonymous early fourteenth-century Anglo-Norman poem evoking escape from social oppression 'souz le jolyf umbray / La n'y a fauceté ne nulle mal lay / En le bois de Belregard' (in the beautiful shade / There is no deceit there, nor any bad law, / In the wood of Belregard) (p. 38, cited, with translation, from I. S. T. Aspin (ed.) *Anglo-Norman Political Songs* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1953).
32 Lodge, *Rosalynde*, p. 252.
33 Juliet Dusinberre, *As You Like It*, by William Shakespeare, The Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), n. to V.iv.105.2. See Lodge, *Rosalynde*, p. 246: '*Ganimede* … had made her[self] a gowne of greene, and a kirtle

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of the finest sendall, in such sort that she seemed some heavenly Nymph harboured in Countrey attire.'

34 Lodge, *Rosalynde*, p. 222.

35 Shakespeare's character is generally credited with popularising the name, which Ben Jonson certainly seized on in *Volpone* (1606) for its etymological association.

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4

Late comedies tragically inflected: *The Merchant of Venice, Measure for Measure, Twelfth Night*

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As this chapter's title is meant to signal, I propose to treat three comedies dating from between 1596 (roughly) and 1604 as varied experiments in tragicomedy. To this extent, they anticipate the formal generic turn of the final plays, but they are far from achieving the distinctive synthesis of tragic and comic strains which the latter establish (while exhibiting, of course, their own variations). Instead, the notion of tragicomedy that broadly applies here involves a more or less uneasy juxtaposition of fulfilled comic patterns with an affirmation of tragic potential as encoded in the human condition and left suspended, rather than integrated, at the conclusions. And if the comic patterns are patently of Italian origin – even if some criticism finds the tragicomic model of Giovanni Battista Guarini an adequate template in one case or another[1] – certain tragically tending elements appear more clearly, I believe, in the light of hitherto unnoticed (or at least underappreciated) French intertexts. These elements bear especially on character portrayal and turn on some of the same issues that dominate Shakespeare's tragedies from 1600 on: the exercise, or abdication, of power, in the public or private spheres; the temptations and dangers of hypocrisy; and, most fundamentally and inclusively, self-delusion and disillusion – the fraught mechanisms of self-knowledge.

The Merchant of Venice and *Measure for Measure*, which I juxtapose at the outset for reasons that will become apparent, have a long critical, and stage, history of mingling the comic and the tragic. The former obviously owes such treatment chiefly to the potent ambivalence of Shylock, whose tragic potential has traditionally attracted actors. The interrogations of comic fulfilment in *Measure for Measure* are less narrowly focused: its moral ambiguities notoriously touch virtually all of the principal characters and situations. The present approach will, however, throw into relief a less familiar locus of the tragic: the Claudius-like conscientious torment of the angelic 'devil' at its centre. And if the tragic overtones accruing to the trickery and humiliation of Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* are comparatively muted, they nevertheless issue in a resounding

declaration of generic discordance: 'I'll be reveng'd on the whole pack of you' (*TN*, V.i.378). Shylock, Malvolio and Angelo, then (to recall their chronological order) may be said to develop and concentrate the principle of tragic shadowing evident from Shakespeare's earliest comic work. Their influence within their play-worlds remains limited, however, and, whatever their imaginative carrying power for spectators, they are formally marginalised by the resolutions of the main plots.

Thus all three plays stop short of the profound destabilising of comic premises effected in *All's Well That Ends Well*. There the artifice of the 'miraculous' denouement that reverses a tragic trajectory – Helen's return from the dead bearing new life – is made conspicuous to the point of discrediting its transformative power.[2] In the three plays at hand there is less of a gap – not to say none at all – between the notes of redemptive mystery and amorous fulfilment sounded to ratify social renewal, as comic convention requires, and the plot devices that generate them. The cutting of the legal Gordian knot instead of Antonio's flesh; the timely restoration of Viola's brother, thanks patently to Time itself ('O time, thou must unravel this, not I' (*TN*, II.ii.40); the rescue of Claudio and Isabella by Vienna's Duke, which enables both the incrimination and the pardon of Angelo as if by 'pow'r divine' (*MM*, V.i.369): these resolutions are all ultimately felt as vindicating comic patterns.

Even if *Measure for Measure*'s relentlessly down-to-earth treatment of motives and conduct leaves as many moral and psychological loose ends as does its fellow 'Problem Comedy', its genre is arguably not so profoundly self-(ab)negating as that of *All's Well*. Indeed, it may be the very background of a thoroughly and incorrigibly rotten society – the domain of the hitherto irre*press*ible Lucio ('Marrying a punk, my lord, is pressing to death, whipping, and hanging' (*MM*, V.i.522–3)) – that enables comedy and tragedy to stay in balance, not to say harmony, to the end (and, in the audience's memory, beyond). *All's Well*, by contrast, evokes an irresistibly entropic play-world, in which chronically tragic substance is painted over, before our eyes, with the thinnest of comic overlays.

It is not common to trace links among the three emblematically counter-generic figures in these plays, as they may be termed, but there are telling ones: each is a *trouble-fête*, self-righteous, obsessed with a narrow idea of the Law that he sees himself as representing. Two of the three are tarred with the Puritan brush and one of its common corollaries, hypocrisy; by way of another anti-Puritan stereotype, that of the usurer, Shylock rejoins the picture.[3] In two cases, the political and ethical issues focused in the sources, notably the relative claims of justice and mercy, take on a more pronounced religious aura, thanks to biblical intertexts (the latter, indeed, providing the title of *Measure*

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for Measure – and this with no warrant whatever in the usually cited precedents). In *Twelfth Night*, that dimension is muted and shifted to the subplot, but it certainly tinges Malvolio's moralistic pretensions, as the mock exorcism (ad)ministered by Feste/Sir Topaz serves to confirm.

As many studies over many years attest, the basic plots of all three comedies were well known before Shakespeare took them up, even if uncertainties remain about the version – or, almost certainly, versions – which he found useful for different elements. The few substantial puzzles that persist mainly concern *The Merchant of Venice*, for which missing pieces are suspected, especially the lost play called *The Jew*, mentioned in passing by Stephen Gosson in *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579), and a possible translation into English (or indeed French) of the story of Giovanni Fiorentino in *Il Pecorone* (day 4, story 1), which most closely approaches Shakespeare's plot in salient respects.[4] Malvolio makes a more conspicuously dangling loose end, which has attracted conjecture concerning killjoy functionaries at the court of Elizabeth. I will have more to say about him below. My starting point, however, is the fact that, with regard to *Merchant* and *Measure*, while some of the analogues plentifully offer moral instruction of a conventional kind – condemning usury, lust, hypocrisy and similar obvious targets – there is very little precedent in them for the sort of profound human conflict and spiritual torment that raises, and does not entirely lay, the troublesome spectre of tragedy.

Mankind in the middle

Shakespeare obviously needed no intertext, French or otherwise, to mediate the biblical echoes that deepen and expand the moral issues in these two comedies. I should like, however, to introduce one, a mid-sixteenth-century French Protestant morality play, as a lens through which both may be seen more fully to justify their tragic tendencies. Whether Shakespeare himself, or members of his audience, actually applied this particular lens is finally unknowable, although the circumstantial evidence appears to me compelling. In any case, the paradigm it delineates was certainly in circulation, and this version of it was, in theory, as accessible as other printed texts. The starting point for special interest is that we are dealing with a self-described tragicomedy, whose date confirms that the label was more widely and variously applied at an earlier stage in France than in England.[5]

In 1554, Henri ('Henry') de Barran – a Protestant pastor with connections to the court of Navarre of Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albret[6] – published in Geneva his '*Tragiqve comedie francoise de l'homme iustifié par Foy*', of which there are at least five extant copies, including one in the Bodleian

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Library.[7] The play, of somewhat over two thousand lines, is, in outline, an allegorical interlude of a kind familiar enough within English tradition, although it stakes a perfunctory claim to classicism by its structure in five acts, divided into scenes, as well as by its generic label. In representing, moreover, the standard Christian pattern of fall, suffering and redemption, it retraces the spiritual trajectory that Shakespearean plots in all genres presume as background. What, then, is the special claim on our attention here? The fact remains that there is no extant example within the surviving English corpus of late medieval morality plays or Tudor interludes that so endows its central figure, 'L'Homme' (Mankind), with conscientious inward suffering or so invests his redemption with a miraculous discovery of spiritual peace – both, moreover, from a distinctly Protestant point of view. These qualities make it possible to propose Barran's text as an aid to tracing those features of Shakespeare's tragicomic pattern that emerge in the comedies considered in this chapter and that combine more fully in the last plays.

On several significant points, it is worth distinguishing Barran's play from another, somewhat more widely known, in the same line of Protestant polemical theatre, one which has sometimes been treated – misguidedly, in my view – as virtually identical.[8] This is the work of Thomas Kirchmeyer (*alias* Thomas Naogeorgus) entitled *Mercator seu Judicium* (The Merchant, or the Judgement), first published in Latin in 1540 and translated into French, with brio and fidelity, in 1558, presumptively by Jean Crespin (the Reformation martyrologist), as *Le marchant converti* (The Merchant Converted); the French title specifically announces a 'combat de la Conscience' (struggle of conscience).[9] The original, and especially the translation, were multiply reissued, the latter notably in 1591, and several copies are present in English libraries.

Le marchant converti does indeed trace the same basic pattern as Barran's tragicomedy – a familiar one – with respect to its title character: fall into sin, summons to judgement, terror of damnation – all finally followed by mercy and redemption. Several other personages are similarly summoned, however, while only the Merchant is saved, so the self-applied label of 'tragedy' proves to be apt. The presentational style and didactic technique are typical of Reformation polemic. The eponymous protagonist is unequivocally sinful, having lecherously fathered Gain (or Usury) on the strumpet Fortune; after the message of death, his conscience, personified, torments him, as does Satan. The remedies of the Catholic church, proposed by a priest, naturally cannot save him, but at the direction of Christ, he is literally purged by the intervention of Paul and Luc, who cause him to vomit false doctrine and administer saving grace. Meanwhile a Franciscan friar fails to redeem a prince and bishop, whom Christ consigns to damnation. Kirchmeyer's tragedy,

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however interesting in itself – and despite a significant link with *Doctor Faustus*, which I have explored elsewhere[10] – would be beside the point here, except for the choice of a merchant as its allegorical centre, incarnating covetous attachment to the things of this world. On these grounds alone, it might be suspected of suggesting how the judgement scene depicted in *Il Pecorone* and other analogues might be attached to a morality-play structure illustrating the movement from divine justice to mercy.

The possibility seems stronger in light of an English play that has been adduced as 'background' to Shakespeare's *Merchant*.[11] *The Three Ladies of London* (pub. 1584), by Robert Wilson, is clearly in part a 'spin-off' from *Mercator*, given the roles of Mercadorus, Conscience, Usury and Lucre (*Lucrum* in Kirchmeyer's Latin).[12] But while its unscrupulous merchant – an Italian who speaks with a demeaning accent – is provocatively set off, in a courtroom scene, against a virtuous and merciful Jew to whom he is indebted, *The Three Ladies* does not develop a spiritual dimension. Not only does the straightforward moral allegory dominate the subplot in which religious differences figure, but the latter are subordinated to basic ethical principles. The Christian merchant, who has been prepared to turn Turk to escape his Jewish creditor, renounces when the latter, appalled at such a violation of principle, forgives all his debts, thereby eliciting this moral from the fair-minded Turkish judge: 'Jews seek to excel in Christianity, and Christians in Jewishness.'[13] In this virtual reduction of the three religions to the same moral plane, *The Three Ladies* foreshadows, in a lower key, a far more prominent precursor of *The Merchant of Venice*, Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (*c.* 1590), in which the trans-sectarian practice of villainy precludes the serious exploration of spiritual issues that is encouraged by Shakespeare's play.

What remains pertinent here is the existence for Elizabethans, at least by way of both Kirchmeyer and Wilson, of the merchant-figure as a dramatic emblem of the avaricious – but nominally Christian – sinner. Especially given Shakespeare's title, it might have been hard for an audience to expunge such a stereotype when he presented them, instead, with the anti-Semitic one embedded in his main narrative source. Antonio arguably comes onstage with his role as innocent Christian victim already destabilised.

It is precisely in the figure of Antonio, moreover, that Barran's play and Shakespeare's tend to converge. In the intertextual light of Barran's universal allegory, as I hope to show, the Venetian merchant takes on the quality of an inclusive representative of hapless humanity – as indeed, though more obliquely, does Angelo. The rapprochement is effected by a series of dramatic situations in *L'Homme iustifié par Foy* that vividly concretise the abstract protagonist, including a climactic scene of judgement and revelation that

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anticipates Shakespeare's dramatic procedures, most strikingly in *Merchant*, but also in *Measure for Measure*.

The symbolic suppleness of Barran's representative of humanity is related to the work's doctrinal purpose. As the title indicates, the main issue here is not simple avoidance of sin. Indeed, sinfulness, in resounding Protestant fashion, is presented as the universal human condition. Instead, the drama turns on conflict concerning the remedy: to a mistaken reliance on Mosaic Law ('La Loy') and good works is actively opposed the salvific doctrine of *sola fides*, which preaches the unique efficacy and sufficiency of faith in Christ's cleansing sacrifice.

The author maintains in his prefatory epistle to the reader that his work aims to edify merely by putting into dialogue and verse the biblical texts that expound the doctrine of justification by faith.[14] Indeed, the printed text abounds with marginal documentation of its sources in scripture.[15] Not surprisingly, these are chiefly Pauline, drawn especially from the letter to the Romans. Paul himself, moreover, is the drama's key personage, the spiritual guide who prepares L'Homme to receive the divine grace eventually bestowed on him. It is the paradoxical effect of this allegorical intertext, I propose, to attract the relatively static plots and characters supplied by the recognised sources of both *The Merchant of Venice* and *Measure for Measure* into dynamic structures replete with spiritual resonances; such resonances, in turn, give rise to those dimensions of the plays widely perceived as most characteristically Shakespearean.

What most immediately stands out from a Shakespearean angle is the dramatic instrument devised by Barran, 'Rabby', to advocate the dangerously false position – for it plays into the hands (or claws) of Satan – of justification by Law.[16] The obvious immediate target of Barran's play in its context – Catholic doctrine and its proponents – is thereby mediated by a conflict between Jewish tradition and the primitive Christian church, and it is that conflict which stubbornly claims centre-stage. Certainly, there is a well-entrenched polemical tradition, onstage and off, of using the Pharisees to stand in for the Catholic clergy, sometimes with the support, as in John Bale's practice, of ecclesiastical costuming.[17] But L'Homme-as-Pharisee is arrayed pointedly as a Jew, with ostentatious phylacteries and broad fringes corresponding to those condemned by Jesus in Matthew 23:5.[18] More generally, there is no anti-Catholic caricature, such as is exuberantly practised by Kirchmeyer and numerous other polemicists. Rabby is not monstrously evil; he actually pities L'Homme and believes that he possesses the key to salvation. But while he does the devil's dirty work unwittingly, his methods are underhanded: he deliberately lulls L'Homme into hypocritical self-assurance by literally hiding

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La Loy's terrifying countenance behind a veil, which Paul eventually removes. This is to give dramatic embodiment to a Pauline metaphor derived from 2 Corinthians and widespread in the visual arts of the Middle Ages, especially in opposing the Synagogue and the Church:[19]

> … Moses … put a vaile vpon his face, that the children of Israel shulde not looke vnto the end of that which shulde be abolished.
> Therefore their mindes are hardened: for vntil this day remaineth the same couering untaken away in the reading of the Olde testament, which (vaile) in Christ is put away. (2 Cor. 3:13–14)

The predicament of L'Homme evoked by Barran is that he has not yet turned to the Lord in his heart but merely conformed superficially to the strictures of the Law. Consequently, he finds himself in the hands of his enemies, Sin and Death – 'ces bourreaux tant inhumains' (these torturers so unkind).[20] Condemned to everlasting death by La Loy, L'Homme acknowledges his corruption, despairs and begs for a swift end. What saves the day (that is, eternity) is, of course, divine mercy ('Grace'), freely sent down to earth – 'du haut Dieu envoyée / En ces lieux bas' (by the high God sent this way / To the lower world)[21] – once L'Homme has accepted faith. This he cannot do at once or unaided, however, being too heavily afflicted by a sense of unworthiness: 'Mon cœur & sens, helas! sont trop souillez' (My heart and sense, alas, show too much stain).[22] Paul, accompanied by Faith, must pray for him to be succoured by 'L'Esprit d'amour' (The Spirit of Love), which duly prevails over 'L'Esprit de crainte' (The Spirit of Fear), La Loy's fearsome instrument. La Loy then takes on the subordinate role of necessary constraint to man in his state of sin, but in a way reconciled with grace and faith, so that L'Homme receives its commandments with Christ in his heart, 'En paix d'esprit' (my spirit at peace).[23]

Thus reduced to its theological schema, this fable has a tedious air, and the action is certainly slowed at points by repetitive didactic rhetoric, generally couched in pentameter couplets. But the verse is buoyed by its biblical echoes, and it regularly slides into fast-moving octosyllabics, while there is also much lively theatricalism. This includes the sort of extravagant diabolical raging and interplay among Satan, Death and Sin that derive from the mysteries and, especially in the English drama, feed into the Vice tradition. The unveiling of La Loy's fearful countenance makes for a highly effective dramatic moment. And the doctrinal lesson is continually rendered vivid through a series of convincingly evoked emotional states attached to the tortuous passage of L'Homme from blind assurance to despair to redemption.

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Enough has been said to point up the key thematic link with *The Merchant of Venice*: the conflict between the Old Testament – specifically Jewish – Law of strict justice and the New Testament Law of Christian Mercy. Shakespeare's play, of course, has regularly been approached in precisely these terms, at least since the persuasive application of the pattern by Barbara K. Lewalski in 1962.[24] Yet not only is there little warrant for doing so in the sources as we know them but the arguments for such readings have depended on abstract – if widely known – theological commonplaces.[25] There are, by contrast, significant points of contact with Barran's dramatic treatment, most centrally in the staged confrontation between advocates of the two positions, with a hapless representative of humanity at stake. This configuration also recalls and reapplies the traditional mystery play stagings of the so-called 'debate in Paradise' between Justice and Mercy – another motif that has been detected in *The Merchant of Venice*, although one more common in the extant French religious drama than in the English.[26] It does so, however, by visibly foregrounding the object of contestation, what may be termed the figure of 'mankind in the middle'. The intertextual effect is to align the dramatic centre of gravity of Shakespeare's play with its nominally central personage more closely than is usually felt to be the case.

The parallel between L'Homme and Antonio extends to a vivid evocation of despairing torment. Rabby has temporarily gained the upper hand over Paul, enticing L'Homme into blind and superficial obedience to La Loy while concealing its terrible rigour. L'Homme is then suddenly confronted with his abject state and exposed with graphic physicality to La Loy's inexorable cruelty, exercised through the 'bourreaux'(torturers). His profound sense of unworthiness issues in a despairing desire to be released by death:

> Qui souffrit onq si cruel torment?
> O Mort, vien-çà, point ne me seras dure:
> Despeche moy: car plus ie ne puis viure.
>
> (Who has ever greater torment endured?
> O Death, come here – now I don't you abhor:
> Despatch me, for I can't bear living more.)[27]

The spiritual blindness of the initial question would be plain to a theologically adept audience, mindful of Lamentations 1:12: 'beholde, and se, if there be anye sorowe like vnto my sorowe'. Clearly marked is the necessary transition L'Homme must make to the comfort of the New Law, by which Christ takes all human sorrows upon himself. To hide from the terrible face of La Loy is ultimately to hide from the promise of redemption.

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There is an imaginative intersection here with the symbolic positioning of the condemned Antonio as a type of Christ – conspicuously saved from having to shed a single drop of his own blood. Also anticipated is his despairing wish to be abandoned as a 'tainted wether of the flock, / Meetest for death' (*Mer.*, IV.i.114–15), and, more broadly, the strange melancholy that possesses him from the outset. This is an element essential to the play's tragic counter-current but which is neither anticipated in the standard sources nor accommodated by the biblical readings that have been proposed. The play's first lines not only draw attention to it, and mark it as mysterious, but define it as the psychological mainspring of the character:

> In sooth, I know not why I am so sad;
> It wearies me; you say it wearies you;
> But how I caught it, found it, or came by it
> What stuff 'tis made of, whereof it is born,
> I am to learn;
> And such a want-wit sadness makes of me,
> That I have much ado to know myself.
> (I.i.1–7)

That last line, following on the grammatically ambiguous locution, 'I am to learn', strongly suggests a need for self-discovery, which, however, is overtaken, if not curtailed, by events.

Attempts to integrate Antonio's melancholy into the interplay of character relations have generally privileged his special 'bond' with Bassanio. Latterly, this has often been explored in terms of suppressed eroticism. But love and money are linked in notoriously intimate and complicated ways in *The Merchant of Venice*, and the initial bond between the two men graphically shows at least the initial priority, for Bassanio, of the material factor. It thereby becomes very much to the point that the sin into which L'Homme hypocritically falls, while blindly supposing himself assured of salvation by La Loy – the sin that stands, in Barran's neo-medieval conception, for all bonds with the things of this world – is 'concupiscence'. And the essence of those bonds is not material, or carnal – though they may well take such forms – but self-love, as opposed to love of God.[28] Thus Satan, in enjoining his daughter Concupiscence to act on Mankind's heart, where he has installed her, explains:

> Tu es la source de tout vice,
> Tu es de ces gens la nourrice,
> Parquoy il faut bien gouuerner
> Ce beau Saint, & tousiours mener

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Ces desirs, à cercher honneur:
Il faut tousiours tirer son cœur
A vaine gloire.

(Of every vice you are the source,
The nurse that feeds such men their force –
Wherefore it's needful well to govern
This splendid saint and always turn
Him to what honour may impart:
All must be done to draw his heart
To vainglory.)[29]

His friends' initial attempts to diagnose Antonio's disposition and to cheer him up also bring out his structural role as an emblem of the human being spiritually adrift, already half-aware of his flawed state. What is literally adrift, as Solario and Solanio vividly convey, is the merchant's fleet, exposed in symbolic fashion to the watery vicissitudes of fortune. And when Antonio denies this as the source of his sadness, his reason – essentially, the fact that his material bets are hedged – would arguably cue an audience alert to spiritual meanings to a deeper denial.

The innocence, righteousness and seeming selflessness of Antonio, emblem of the best of Venetian society – far from the self-aggrandising vulgarity of Gratiano, 'too wild, too rude, and bold of voice' (*Mer.*, II.ii.181) – are arguably assimilated to hypocrisy. This is implied by Shylock's initial disparagement, 'How like a fawning publican he looks!' (I.iii.41), which should arguably be allowed to carry weight in performance. Certainly, the accusation is subsequently pressed home by Shylock, with telling eloquence, on several well-known occasions. And if Antonio displays his upright dealing by performing good works – apart from his special support of Bassanio, he 'lends out money gratis' (I.iii.44) – from the perspective of Barran such display goes hand in hand with hypocrisy. L'Homme, having secretly welcomed Concupiscence into his heart, goes forth to 'Prescher à ces gens ma iustice' (Preach to people of my justice),[30] while his '*orison*', delivered, according to a stage direction, as a '*Pharisien*', amounts to informing God that his exemplary virtue, marked by the exercise of charity, merits salvation: 'Tu sais aussi que i'entretiens / Les poures gens, par mes aumosnes' (I nourish, as to You is known, / Poor people with my ample alms).[31] As a marginal note signals, this monologue closely echoes the prayer of the Pharisee as recounted in Luke 18:11–12. That prayer contrasts with the plea for mercy of the publican, who recognises his sinfulness and is deemed to be 'iustified' (Luke 18:14); a Geneva gloss notes in his words the 'signes of an humble; and lowlie heart' (n. e to Luke 18:13). Shylock's

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reference to Antonio as a 'fawning publican' is widely taken to refer to this passage, and in the light of Barran's text more clearly suggests a refutation of Antonio's show of virtuous humility as a pose. It may be to the point that when La Loy, in the judgement scene, terms Mankind a 'chatemitte' (counterfeit),[32] an overtone of 'fawning' is strongly implied.[33]

L'Homme has previously defied Paul's accusation of hypocrisy in terms of his unknowable heart:

> Meschant, as-tu la cognoissance
> De ce que i'ay dedans mon cœur?
> Cela n'appartient qu'au Seigneur.
>
> (Villain, you think you know the essence
> Of what my inmost heart contains?
> To God alone that appertains.)[34]

It is to expose the impurity of that heart, to make him acknowledge how 'pourry' (rotten)[35] it really is, that – in a striking anticipation of the action threatened in *The Merchant of Venice* – Mankind's breast must physically be opened. So La Loy explains to her instruments of enforcement:

> Peché, et Mort, venez tost, qu'on s'aduance:
> Despechez moyce maudit hypocrite;
> Faites si bien que ce beau chatemitte
> Voye qu'il a le cœur du tout pourry.
> …
>
> N'espargnez rien, mais donnez bien entendre
> A ce beau Saint si delicat & tendre
> Que tout son cas n'estoit qu'hypocrisie,
> Et qu'il n'est Saint sinon par fantaisie.
> Gardez-le bien de voz mains eschapper:
> Et commencez son cœur plus fort frapper,
> Pour voir s'il est Saint, ainsi qu'il disoit.
>
> *Peché regardant dans la poictrine*
> Ie l'ay ouuert: autre chose on n'y voit
> Que les desirs de la Concupiscence.
>
> (Sin and Death, come quickly now, advance:
> Before me bring that curséd hypocrite;
> Do what you must so that fine counterfeit
> Sees that his heart to rottenness is wed.
> …

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Spare nothing; see that you the message render
To that fair saint so delicate and tender
That he is nothing but hypocrisy,
And all his holiness mere fantasy.
Whatever you do, don't you let him go,
But give his heart mighty blow after blow,
To see if he's a saint, as he's been saying.

Sin [*looking into his breast*]
I've opened him: one sees no other thing
But the desires of his Concupiscence.)[36]

Hearts are very much at issue in *The Merchant of Venice*, beginning with Antonio's lesson on Shylock's biblical justification for interest-taking:

Mark you this, Bassanio,
The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose.
An evil soul producing holy witness
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek,
A goodly apple *rotten at the heart*:
O, what a goodly outside falsehood hath!
(*Mer.*, I.iii.97–102; my italics)

It is a point that Barran's play actually stages through the intervention of 'Satan transfiguré' (Satan transformed)[37] on behalf of Rabby, appealing to Romans 2, as a marginal note signals:

On lit en la sainte Escriture,
Où n'y a que verité pure,
Que de la Loy les auditeurs
Iustes ne sont, mais les facteurs.
Il faut donc la Loy obseruer,
Et par tel moyen se sauuer.

(One reads declared in holy Scripture,
Where all is truth and truth is pure,
They are not just who hear Law's will,
But those prepared it to fulfil.
One owes the Law, then, observation
And by that means may gain salvation.)[38]

Especially coming from one who avowedly does not know his own heart, Antonio's certainty about distinguishing a 'rotten' one might seem overconfident. Likewise, his virtual equation of Shylock with the devil – which Launcelot Gobbo's diabolic double-talk has just comically destabilised even in affirming

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it ('a kind of devil' (*Mer.*, I.ii.24), 'the very devil incarnation' (27–8)) – appears merely facile. This is all the more so in light of Barran's treatment, in which Rabby, despite his self-righteousness and wilful blindness, himself proves first the devil's dupe, then the means of exposing the truth despite himself.

Belmont boasts a mechanism of disclosing the heart through the opening of caskets, though the test results in Bassanio's case are subject to question. In Venice, where hearts come pre-packaged as good or evil, according to appearances, there is no such provision at all – at least at first. The bond initially proposed by Shylock stipulates merely that Antonio's flesh shall be 'Cut off and taken / In what part of your body pleaseth me' (*Mer.*, I.iii.150–1). This matches the bond in *Il Pecorone*, according to which 'the Jew might take a pound of flesh from any part of his body he pleased'.[39] That text proffers no further precision when the bond is described again[40] or in the subsequent courtroom confrontation. The other analogues proposed are, to my knowledge, equally vague on the point.[41] In the play, by contrast, the injured and enraged Shylock already anticipates his vengeance in highly symbolic detail: 'I will have the heart of him if he forfeits' (*Mer.*, III.i.127).

In the judgement scene, it is Shylock's irremediably hard 'Jewish heart' (IV.i.80), according to Antonio, that will make him unrelenting. And now it is explicit that the pound of flesh is to be taken 'Nearest the merchant's heart' (233). The dialogue accompanying the vivid action is insistent on the point:

> *Portia*. Therefore lay bare your bosom.
> *Shylock*. Ay, his breast,
> So says the bond, doth it not, noble judge?
> 'Nearest his heart', those are the very words.
> (252–4)

The heart, then, seems to be Shakespeare's highly resonant supplement. As James Shapiro has observed, its resonance in the trial scene would undoubtedly be enhanced, for an audience, by the Pauline notion, clearest in Romans 2, of the circumcision of the heart.[42] Yet Paul develops the notion there from an attack on hypocrisy, on a 'hardnes and heart that can not repent', then threatens 'wrath against the day of wrath and of the declaration of the iuste iudgement of God' (Rom. 2:5), before preaching a 'circumcision … of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God' (2:29). In the light of Barran's spectacular dramatic enactment of this schema, it appears clearly that the needful process of revelation and repentance is short-circuited in Antonio's case.

Any need or indeed potential for 'thickening' Antonio's character by opening his heart symbolically is obviated by comic plot mechanisms.

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Certainly, the Law of Mercy is given its eloquent spokesperson in Portia-Bellario (anticipating Isabella in *Measure for Measure*), but the lawyer's trick by which she applies it merely *justifies* Antonio as a purely innocent victim of diabolical malice. His argosies are subsequently restored by a dramatic universe complicit with the magic of Belmont. The entire weight of fallen human nature, the capacity for suffering from the standard Shakespearean tragic causes – disillusion, *in*justice – is shifted onto the increasingly stooped shoulders of Shylock, who is made to take over the role of sinful Christian, but with all hope foreclosed.

Thus, while it is arguably the attraction of an allegorical mode that initially opens up the contrasts and contradictions that complicate Shakespeare's superficially comic Venice, those complications finally play out, paradoxically, so as to invest with vulnerable humanity the implacable instrument of the Old Law, while appropriating the mechanisms of the New on behalf of highly problematic representatives of spirituality. In effect, the veil is put back upon the Law. If, as is often perceived, there are discordant notes complicating Belmont's closing harmony – of false love, betrayal, jealousy, possessiveness – they may be taken to announce that hypocrisy gets a second wind, one corresponding to an outward wind favourable to argosies, which promises to blow happily ever after. Or does it? Antonio is now willing to bind his 'soul' to guarantee that Bassanio will 'never more break faith advisedly' (*Mer.*, V.i.252, 253), but resonance with Barran's intertext may sharpen the point, for an audience of thinking Christians, as opposed to cheerleaders in the anti-Semitic arena, that souls and faith are far from secure in merely human possession.

It is worth pausing here to glance again briefly, from this unaccustomed angle, at *As You Like It*, whose composition (1599) falls mid-way within the span marked by the other plays in question. To argue for it, too, as an experiment in tragicomedy would be forcing the point, but in the light of *L'Homme justifié par foy*, certain otherwise obscure features emerge as points of contact with those inflecting the comic elsewhere. Here the candidate for casting as L'Homme is obviously Orlando, and the despair he expresses to Rosalind and Celia before his wrestling 'trial' carries an existential charge recalling Antonio's melancholy:

> … let your fair eyes and gentle wishes go with me to my trial; wherein if I be foil'd, there is but one sham'd that was never gracious; if kill'd, but one dead that is willing to be so. I shall do my friends no wrong, for I have none to lament me; the world no injury, for in it I have nothing. Only in the world I fill up a place, which may be better supplied when I have made it empty. (*AYI*, I.ii.185–93)

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Thanks in part to his nominal marking as potentially *furioso*, we are accustomed to a 'rough' reading of this *jeune premier* that accommodates his initial wildness and highlights his need for Rosalind's at once tender and witty education – an anticipation of her later transformative 'magic' – to moderate excessive passion with reason. That wildness is spawned, obviously, by his brother's literally brutal treatment of him. The latter, in turn, feeds into the vindictive world of the court, whose dominant note is usurpation and where 'breaking of ribs [is] sport for ladies' (I.ii.138–9), with Charles the wrestler taking on the symbolic quality of 'bourreau'.

It is not common to approach the two-world motif of one of the most resoundingly 'festive' of the romantic comedies in terms of Old and New Law, but for Shakespeare's audiences this spiritual dimension would arguably be hard to exclude. Mercy is as good a name as any for the rule by which the unjustly banished courtiers live – in effect, on the wrong side of the Old Law but on the right side of the New – and Orlando's education begins when, on the point of starvation, he and old Adam ('L'Homme' indeed) are welcomed to their table, nourished in both body and soul. (The musical accompaniment on the theme of 'man's ingratitude' (II.vii.176) is essential to the symbolic effect.) The Duke's admonition, 'Your gentleness shall force, / More than your force move us to gentleness' (102–3), illustrates graphically that 'The quality of mercy is not strain'd' (*Mer.*, IV.i.184).

From this point of view, the redemptive love offered Orlando by Rosalind may be assimilated to that of law-dispensing Portia, 'feminine' grace emerging out of 'masculine' rigour, but so may its artifice be linked to the duplicity of Bellario and Ganymede. In *As You Like It*, too, comic convention steps in, with magical overtones, to relieve the suffering figure of L'Homme of the burden of completing a spiritual trajectory. It suffices for Orlando to save his brother's life from both lion (the martyr-making beast) and serpent (death-dealing evil) – and to bleed symbolically – for Rosalind to resolve to end her masquerade. For that matter, it suffices for Oliver to recognise his brother's act of mercy to become a new man and receive the spirit of love. The need to pursue the inward quest beyond a happy ending is displaced onto the miraculously converted usurper and the play's mild version of a *trouble-fête*: 'Out of these convertites / There is much matter to be heard and learn'd' (*AYI*, V.iv.184–5). Jacques' introverted 'I am for other than for dancing measures' (193) is a far cry from Malvolio's attack on the genre itself: 'I'll be revenged on the whole pack of you'; likewise, his withdrawal to the Duke's abandoned cave makes a far less intensely charged exit than that of the broken Shylock: 'I pray you give me leave to go from hence, / I am not well' (*Mer.*, IV.i.395–6). Both within and around *As You Like It*'s concluding dance, not only tragedy, but

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tragicomedy, is sidestepped. The contrast is particularly stark with the very different *measures* justly threatened and mercifully mitigated in Shakespeare's most troubled formal comedy, and his last.

'Lord Angelo perceives he's safe'

The sombre colouration of *Measure for Measure* is arguably reinforced by two French intertextual layers, including, again, the moral allegory of Barran, which I will take up first. These layers are again applied upon an Italianate base. Here, however, that base has already been overpainted by the English dramatic adaptation of George Whetstone (*Promos and Cassandra*, 1578), which the same author subsequently rendered in prose form in his *Heptameron of Civill Discourses* (1582). When one then takes into account the several analogues in circulation, the picture blurs further and, from the perspective of traditional source-study, presents a notoriously difficult (but typically Shakespearean) tangle.

As it happens, I will, exceptionally, be making a case for raising a French analogue – the unequivocal tragedy of Claude Roillet – to the level of source. As elsewhere, however, my main interest is in proposing that certain neglected variants, models and paradigms in discursive circulation carried the potential to colour the experience of the text for spectators and readers. In this case those colours are decidedly dark, the more so because the relative claims of justice and mercy are insistently endowed with religious resonances.

This is easier to appreciate because that issue, framed in ethical and political terms, is explicitly present in antecedents of the main plot. The plot itself, whether in the prose narrative version in the *Hecatommithi* of Giovanni Battista Giraldi (known as Cinthio) or the same author's dramatisation (*Epitia*), is far from comic in form or spirit, but, as the latter's Prologue announces, it displays a movement from wretchedness to joy associated with one from harsh justice to clemency.[43] The listeners to the story in the *Hecatommithi* actually debate the second issue – a reminder that it constitutes a standard humanist topos, repeated throughout the early modern period on the basis of Seneca's *De Clementia*. More broadly, the genre of the *histoire tragique* came ready-made with the potential for ethical debate and didactic moralising (to some degree justifying its sensationalism on these grounds).

Nor is the issue absent from the prior English dramatic adaptation. The most notable innovation of *Promos and Cassandra* is the introduction of the low-comic characters that Shakespeare evidently used as a foundation and stimulus for his own.[44] There are, however, many other specific anticipations of *Measure for Measure*, as has been noted, and one of them is the pleading

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scene where the 'wofull Syster'[45] of the condemned Andrugio, as she introduces herself – might this have planted the idea of making Isabella 'shortly of a sisterhood' (*MM*, II.ii.21)? – confronts the judge Promos. The latter insists, as does Angelo, on absolute Law personified, but supposedly not by him: 'Lawe founde his faulte, Lawe judgde him dead'; Cassandra counters with 'Yet Kings, or such as execute regall authoritie, / If mends be made may over rule the force of lawe with mercie'.[46] She thereby anticipates the King's concluding injunctions to the pardoned Promos: 'measure Grace with Justice evermore'; 'Justice joyne with mercie evermore'.[47] Again, the ethical issue is maintained in view but kept strictly on the terrestrial and political level: the spiritual dimension so fully developed by Shakespeare is wholly lacking.

Justice actually threatens to emerge as closer to godliness in George Gascoigne's uncompromisingly moralistic Prodigal Son play *The glasse of gouernement* (1575) – a more remote and partial analogue, but once whose intertextual relation to *Measure for Measure* bears on the generic point.[48] That work's title defines 'tragicall comedie' in terms of justice of the poetical kind: 'bycause therein are handled aswell the rewardes for vertues, as also the punishment for vices'.[49] The ethical claim, though not the generic one, is standard: Whetstone purports to conclude his 'two Commicall Discourses' by showiing 'the confusion of Vice, and the cherising [*sic*] of Vertue'.[50] But in Gascoigne, Vice is more thoroughly punished, and by nothing less than whipping and hanging, the punishments with which Lucio is threatened before Vienna's Duke's universal mercy is extended to him willy-nilly: 'measure for measure' meets with no mitigation.

In this context, the resonance of *Measure for Measure* with *L'Homme justifié par foy* functions to enrich at once the formal comic trajectory and its tragic qualifications by putting in place a familiar spiritual framework. Such a framework is wholly absent from the analogues, in none of which is the injured woman a religious figure, much less one who speaks on behalf of mercy in a voice recalling Portia's. In no other version either, as it is always worth recalling, does the counterpart of Isabella refuse to accept the deputy's corrupt bargain, or is her dilemma resolved by the comic device of the bed-trick. Both the dramatic precedents of *Epitia* and *Promos and Cassandra* do rescue the brother by means of a head-trick, although this is managed by the prison-keeper, not the ruler *ex machina* who finally dispenses justice. The key to both happy expedients in *Measure for Measure*, of course, is Shakespeare's most striking innovation: the conflation in the ruler figure of the roles of meta-dramatic manipulator and spiritual guide, to the point where he finally appears – to the entrapped and crushed Angelo, at least – 'like pow'r divine' (*MM*, V.i.369).

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As in *The Merchant of Venice*, to recognise the interpretative attraction of *L'Homme justifié par foy* as intertext is not to efface the complications and contradictions attached to Shakespeare's representation of individual characters or the society they inhabit – on the contrary. Christian allegorical readings, such as have certainly been proposed, remain (in my view) untenable. The justice-versus-mercy debate between Angelo and Isabella is hardly detachable from the formidable psychological tensions developed within and between them. But to listen to that debate from the perspective of Barran's dramatic fable works, as with Antonio, to focus attention on the figure of 'mankind in the middle', then to highlight the shift in that symbolic role from a relatively innocent personage to an egregiously guilty one – here, from Claudio to Angelo. Among the several character pairings that function provocatively in *Measure for Measure* – the Duke and Angelo, the Duke and Lucio, Isabella and Mariana – that of Claudio and Angelo rarely receives attention except in the narrow sense: both are sexual transgressors – one sympathetic, one not. But they are in fact intimately linked, as the Duke insists in forcing Angelo to take Claudio's place (whose own place has in effect already been taken by Ragozine): 'An Angelo for Claudio, death for death!' (*MM*, V.i.409).

The mental suffering of the condemned Claudio, as expressed to his sister, then to the Duke, is unmatched in the analogues, where the sentenced victim is given perfunctory attention, if any at all. Claudio's first appearance, as he is displayed to the people by the Provost, shows him literally delivered to the sudden cruelty of the Law, which had seemed complacent, if not complicit. And like L'Homme, he responds with a sense of his guilt for allowing concupiscence – for which 'lechery' (*MM*, I.ii.139) is an approximate term ('Call it so' (140)), 'liberty' (125) one more encompassing – to conduct him deathwards: 'Our natures do pursue, / Like rats that ravin down their proper bane, / A thirsty evil, and when we drink we die' (128–30). And he duly arrives at a version of L'Homme's despair: 'I am so out of love with life that I will sue to be rid of it' (III.ii.171–2).

At the same time, the biblical terms in which Claudio introduces his agony highlight, more clearly in view of the intertext, the limitation of his vision to the Old Law:

> Thus can the demigod, Authority,
> Make us pay down for our offense by weight
> The words of heaven: on whom it will, it will;
> On whom it will not, so; yet still 'tis just.
> (I.iv.120–3)

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An allusion to Romans 9:15–18 is widely perceived:

> 15 For he saith to Moses, I wil haue mercie on him, to whome I wil shewe mercie: and wil haue compassion on whom I will have compassion. …
> 18 Therefore he hathe mercie on whome he wil, and whome he wil he hardeneth.

The critical point is fair enough, but it is usually made without reference to the broader gospel context. For on the paradigmatic spiritual journey, Claudio's insight is merely a first step, and he never takes another one, despite the instruction of the Duke-as-friar (*MM*, III.i.5–41) – or, indeed, because of it, since the latter merely attempts to instil a contempt for this world without reference to faith in the next.

Barran's Foy, as announced by Paul, descends to earth to assure L'Homme of his potential for salvation, and a marginal note directs the reader to Romans 10, presumably to the following sequence in particular:

> 4 For Christe (is) the end of the Lawe for righteousnes vnto euerie one that beleueth.
> 5 For Moses (thus) describeth the ryghteousnes whiche is of the Lawe, That the man which doeth these things, shal liue thereby.
> 6 But the righteousnes which is of faith, speaketh on this wise, Saye not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heauen?
> …
> 9 For if thou shalt confesse with thy mouth the Lorde Iesus, and shalt beleve in thine heart, that God raised him vp from the dead, thou shalt be saued.

Claudio, like Antonio, is exempted by comic form – mediated here, too, by a figure emblematic of the passage from justice to mercy – from further spiritual effort. He is simply handed happiness in this world – the world which, after all, despite frequent talk of souls, bounds that of the play.

Meanwhile, *Measure for Measure*'s comic form, as applied by the Duke, entails, as in *Merchant*, the virtual replacement of an equivocal figure of fallen mankind by a far more obvious candidate, who is soon thrust into the limelight of culpability. Hypocrisy and concupiscence (the latter comprehensively understood, if here sexually focused) are promptly revealed as Angelo's hallmarks – revealed most shockingly, as is the case with Barran's mankind figure, to himself. Angelo has, after all, taken himself, not simply as the instrument of the Law – despite his pretence of subordination ('It is the law, not I, condemn your brother' (*MM*, II.ii.80)) – but as its embodiment, a position to which his own exemplary self-mastery entitles him: ''Tis one thing to be

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tempted, Escalus, / Another thing to fall' (II.i.17–18). In short, he qualifies as what Barran's Prologue describes as a 'pharisien parfait' (perfect Pharisee) in a passage worth quoting at length:

Nous entendons par le pharisien
L'homme qui n'a dans son cœur aucun bien,
Ains seulement l'apparence & la mine,
Lequel est aussi est en vie & doctrine
De tous mortelz diuers & separé,
Voulant tousiours du monde estre honnoré,
Et preferé à toute autre personne.
Que si par fois au poure fait aumosne,
Il ne le fait que pour gloire en auoir,
Se promettant, qu'il a force & pouuoir
De se sauuer par vertu de ses biens,
Et de gagner Paradis pour les siens.
Pharisien est vn grand hypocrite,
Qui a souuent Dieu en bouche, & recite
Propoz tressaintz: mais il n'a rien au cœur
Qu'ambition, & tout autre mal-heur.
Or estant tel, il a contentement
Vn peu de temps: mais puis, en iugement,
De tout forfait se verra reuestu,
Parquoy sera si tresfort abbatu,
Que le verrez du tout en desespoir.
Et pour certain, il seroit hors d'espoir,
Si par la foy & par grace diuine
Il n'euitoit sa prochaine ruine.

(By Pharisee we would have understood
That man whose heart contains no good
But only the appearance and the show,
Who in his life and his thinking is also
Separate from other mortals and apart,
Thirsting to have the world to him impart
All honour at all times and preference;
Who, if he sometimes succours indigence,
Does so only to make himself admired,
Sure he has the power and force acquired
To gain salvation by his goods alone
And Paradise obtain, too, for his own.
The Pharisee is a great hypocrite:
God's name's in his mouth, and matching to it
Most holy words, but his heart nothing fills

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> Except ambition and all other ills.
> Now, being in that state, he is content
> A little while, but then, subject to judgement,
> Sees himself arrayed in every fault
> And is quite overwhelmed by that assault.
> His fall into despair your eyes will trace,
> And desperate indeed would be his case
> If faith and grace divine did not prevent
> That deadly ruin which was imminent.)[51]

The background of Barran's play helps to focus the spiritual dimension of one of the most remarkable features of *Measure for Measure*: Angelo's soliloquies of self-torment and self-discovery. As I have proposed elsewhere, they have the effect of conferring a quasi-tragic subjectivity that renders him all the more vulnerable to the comic practices of a 'Duke of dark corners' (*MM*, IV.iii.157) whose stock-in-trade is self-concealment.[52] Yet they are replete with spiritual language not necessarily warranted by Angelo's political function (though of course cued also by his name and consistent with his Puritanical aura). The model of Barran lends fuller sense, given the function, not just of Satan, but of Satan transfigured, to the evocation within Angelo's soliloquies of the 'cunning enemy' that tempts a 'saint' by way of 'saints' (II.ii.179, 180) and writes '"good angel" on the devil's horn' (II.iv.16).

To imagine one's sainthood is a recognisable Puritan marker, but – and there is no contradiction here, on the contrary – it also matches L'Homme-as-Pharisee: 'suis Saint, & aimé de Dieu' (I am a saint, to God most dear).[53] At least the more theologically serious accusers of Puritan hypocrisy were effectively applying the same ontological understanding as Barran's: as previously mentioned, it is the latter's Satan who scornfully plants Concupiscence in the heart of 'ce beau Saint' (this splendid Saint)[54] and so sets him up for his fall from his pretence in the exposure scene.[55] It is precisely his conviction of sainthood that enables L'Homme to harbour Concupiscence comfortably during his span of worldly happiness: 'Or cache toy / Dedans mon cœur, car je m'en voy / Prescher à ces gens ma iustice' (And now keep low / Within my heart, for forth I go / To preach to people of my justice).[56] His attitude is close indeed to the half-conscious duplicity to which Angelo secretly admits, speaking of 'my gravity, / Wherein (let no man hear me) I take pride' (*MM*, II.iv.9–10). The essential fault in both cases, obviously, is precisely pride in a show of righteousness:

> O que je suis aise & heureux!
> Car ie fay tout ce que veux,

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En fait de l'obseruation
De la Loy.

(Oh, how I'm happy and at ease,
For I do everything I please,
Thanks to my strict observation
Of the Law.)[57]

Such self-righteousness, moreover, in both cases entails a sense of exclusivity. L'Homme expresses a contempt for those less upright that closely resembles Angelo's conception of the citizenry of Vienna – a view, of course, not without foundation: 'Tous les autres, comme ie voy, / Sont paillardz, larrons, faut-temoings' (All others, as to me is plain, / To theft, false-witness, lechery / Are given)'.[58]

It is in his soliloquies, well before the Duke's exposure of him, that Angelo recognises himself as a transgressor; in effect, he accuses himself as the Law, once revealed, causes L'Homme to do by urging Sin and Death to show him his own heart:

Sus, faites donc maintenant voz effors:
N'espargnez rien, mais donnez bien entendre,
A ce beau Saint si delicat & tendre,
Que tout son cas n'estoit qu'hypocrisie,
Et qu'il n'est Saint sinon par fantaisie.

(Go, then – let your best efforts be applied.
Spare nothing; see that you the message render
To that fair saint so delicate and tender
That he is nothing but hypocrisy,
And all his holiness mere fantasy.)[59]

When Lucio (otherwise no Saint Paul) pulls off the friar's cowl – 'Show your knave's visage, with a pox to you!' (*MM*, V.i.353–4)) – the result of his action is not dissimilar. It dramatically confronts Angelo (and himself) with the terrible face of the Law in all its power, the reality of Sin and Death, and the seeming impossibility of escape.

An audience attuned to this pattern might well be inclined to take Angelo at his despairing word:

Then, good Prince,
No longer session hold upon my shame,
But let my trial be mine own confession.
Immediate sentence then, and sequent death,
Is all the grace I beg.

(*MM*, V.i.370)

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Such an audience would also be reminded of the necessary supplement, a different sort of 'grace' and 'mercy' to be begged from a more fundamental source – the only remedy for such despair, if penitence is indeed its precondition:

> I am sorry that such sorrow I procure,
> And so deep sticks it in my penitent heart
> That I crave death more willingly than mercy:
> 'Tis my deserving, and I do entreat it.
>
> (474–7)

The Duke's own distance from any spiritual source is all the clearer because of his contrary pretensions – now renewed over yet another figure of fallen mankind, Barnardine:

> Sirrah, thou art said to have a subborn soul
> That apprehends no further than this world,
> And squar'd thy life according. Thou art condemn'd,
> But for those earthly faults, I quit them all,
> And pray thee take this mercy to provide
> For better times to come.
>
> (480–5)

Of course, this supposed Barnardine is Claudio in disguise, so again we witness the Duke's appropriation of the trappings of mercy and grace in applying comic practices, much as his concluding marriage proposal to Isabella enlists, behind the mechanisms of power, the sanction of romantic comedy – on the model, too, of Henry V and the princess Katherine. At the same time, the tragic counter-current persists in the public mortification of Angelo – by his enforced marriage to Mariana, but most essentially by the administration of mercy in the down-to-earth form of pardon for 'earthly faults': 'By this Lord Angelo perceives he's safe' (V.i.494) – as 'safe', that is, as Portia (and argosies) can render Antonio. To prolong Angelo's existence in a world that has become torment to him, leaving him simply with his rotten heart exposed, is conspicuously to short-circuit the operation of a transcendent 'grace'. But then that would imply an eschatological sequel that is not simply unwritten (and, in Shakespeare's theatre, no doubt unwritable) but flagrantly pre-empted.

Without the safety net

Shakespeare's development of *Measure for Measure*'s underlying source story in ways that deepen, and leave unresolved, the tragic impact of justice

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unmitigated by transcendent mercy leads me to propose a second French intertext. The neo-classical Latin tragedy *Philanira* of Claude Roillet[60] (pub. 1556), which the author himself later freely translated into French (as *Philanire*, pub. 1563 and 1577), has often been included among the analogues, and F. E. Budd in 1930 made an extensive, and largely convincing, case for it as a major source for *Promos and Cassandra*, hence as an indirect influence on Shakespeare; he also supplied evidence that the work was known in England: the Latin original seems to have been performed in Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1564/65.[61] Bullough affirmed unequivocally that 'Shakespeare owed nothing to it', while also admitting that he had not seen the French version.[62] Budd evidently had seen it, for he found one minor detail in the French to be closer to Whetstone,[63] but he otherwise conducts his argument on the basis of the Latin text.

I believe there are clear signs that Shakespeare knew Roillet's French version, which, moreover, demonstrably enjoyed a certain theatrical currency in France. It is a remarkable fact, highly suggestive about bridges between French and English theatrical practices, that at least as recently as 1594, *Philanire* was in the repertory of the touring troupe of Adrien Talmy, offered for performance in Arras and no doubt elsewhere.[64] The evidence for a connection includes one point so obvious it is hard to see how it can have been missed: only in this text is the local ruler, the counterpart of Angelo, identified as 'Preuost' – a title Roillet uses to translate his own Latin 'praetor' and which particularly corresponds to the French 'Prevost [mod. "prévôt"] des Mareschaux'.[65] Shakespeare, of course, attaches this title to the keeper of the prison: the term is found nowhere else in the canon, and while the character's unusually merciful nature is clearly inspired by Whetstone's equivalent, who undertakes to spare Andrugio,[66] the title is not: Whetstone calls him 'Gayler', in keeping with Shakespeare's own usage in *Cymbeline* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Even when employed for various English officers of justice, the term historically evokes French contexts.[67] Roillet's character is named 'Seuere' (Severe), not incidentally: the name corresponds to Gascoigne's 'Severus' and likewise evokes the legendary vice-reforming Roman emperor;[68] it also resonates with both *Measure for Measure* – 'as holy as severe' (III.ii.262) – and *Promos and Cassandra*: 'the way is by severity / Such wicked weedes even by the rootes to teare'.[69]

Less decisive as evidence, but nonetheless suggestive – and certainly to the retributive point relentlessly pressed home by Roillet – is the heroine's formulation early in the drama of her husband's predicament (for here the condemned man is her husband, the father of her children, and his crime is not sexual licence but embezzlement):

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le cas
Est plus leger que ne croit pas
Son preuost, mais de la mesure
De rigueur si pres il mesure
Tout delit, qu'il n'y a mefaict
Qu'il ne soit par le sang defait.

(the case is less serious than is believed by his provost, but by such a strict measure of harshness does he measure every offence, that there is no misdeed that is not by blood repressed.)[70]

The language here remarkably anticipates that used by Shakespeare's Duke to assume (as a provisional tactic) the rigour for which 'the very mercy of the law cries out' (*MM*, V.i.407): 'Like doth quit like, and *Measure* still *for Measure*' (411) – a declaration resonating, of course, with Matthew 7:2 but ironically occluding the biblical stricture against judging others, hence in favour of mercy. Such a double use of 'mesure'/'measure' occurs, as far as I know, in no other analogue, and it is not at all close to the Latin original.[71]

What Rollet's tragedy chiefly contributes as intertext to a reading of *Measure for Measure* is a stark image of where such plot elements seem likely to lead in the absence of comic devices and conventions (not to mention low comedy, which has no place in Roillet's dramaturgy); accordingly, the denouement illustrates the strict application of justice without mercy. There is no bed-trick to save the heroine's chastity or head-trick to mitigate the corrupt official's crime. Even in Cinthio's prose narrative, however, where the brother of Epitia is also actually executed, the ruler yields to the plea of the supplicating newly married wife, and that is not the case in *Philanire*. This becomes, then, the only known version of the story in which the corrupt official is not merely threatened with capital punishment but put to death, and the execution is reported in gruesome detail. The Argument locates the tragedy of Philanire squarely in having to live 'depourueue de ses deux maris' (deprived of her two husbands);[72] the concluding Chorus movingly evokes her cruel loss of hope and her violent sorrow, which is compounded by the grieving of her children. This effect requires not only changing the identity of the initial victim but also altering his offence, since Philanire would presumably have less reason to lament her first husband if he had been unfaithful to her.

The effect also depends on her falling in love with the man who has victimised her, but then this is the case, after initial resistance to the imposed marriage, in all the versions except that of Shakespeare, who reserves Isabella for the Duke and supplies Mariana to love Angelo. To sentence Angelo in his new wife's presence and make her plead for the villain's life is to convert a

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notably improbable plot detail into an element which functions to highlight her pathetic passion: 'I crave no other, nor no better man' (*MM*, V.i.426). Still, the emotional power of the brief sequence, managed by the Duke so as to prepare for his revelation and Angelo's pardon, is most notably anticipated by the equivalent in Roillet. The respective rulers' declarations of their rationales for the marriage converge closely:

> Consenting to the safeguard of your honor,
> I thought your marriage fit; else imputation,
> For that he knew you, might reproach your life,
> And choke your good to come.
> (*MM*, V.i.419–22)

> Ia ci après on n'aura l'advantage
> D'improperer d'adultère le nom.
> Ell' a entier son bruit, & son renom.

(Now no one hereafter will have occasion to soil her name with adultery. She has her fame intact, and her good name.)[73]

Similar, too, are the women's intense and desperate reactions to the accompanying condemnations. Mariana's outburst, 'O my most gracious lord, / I hope you will not mock me with a husband?' (*MM*, V.i.416–17), corresponds to the shock attributed to Philanire:

> Et Philanire en pleurant fait requeste
> Que si subit en sa nouuelle feste,
> Elle ne soit faicte d'vn mesme iour
> Espouse & vefue.

(And Philanire, weeping, pleaded with him that so suddenly in her festive joy she should not be made in a single day both wife and widow.)[74]

The intertext's inexorable progression to the execution throws into relief the management of the confrontation by Shakespeare's Duke to magnify his act of worldly mercy. The effect is all the more notable because the condemned Severe, who like Angelo admits to deserving his fate, comes very close indeed to arriving at a truly Christian consolation, declaring that 'faueur & grace' are not to be hoped for from mortal men but only from God.[75]

The development of tragic effect by Roillet has already been evident in moments of subjectifying self-discovery and self-interrogation on the part of Severe, prompted by his encounters with Philanire. In general, the action, and interaction, run parallel with the model of *Promos and Cassandra*, but the latter diffuses the inner conflict of Promos by giving him

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an encouraging and debauched confidant in the person of Phallax. Severe, by contrast, wrestles with his conscience alone in increasing isolation, beginning with an aside that invites comparison with Angelo's first inkling of attraction ('She speaks, and 'tis / Such sense that my sense breeds with it' (*MM*, II.ii.111–12)):

> Ie sens mons corps & mon las cueur qui ard?
> Ie meurs viuant & tombe a claire veuë,
> Tant de son sens mon ame est despourueuë.
>
> (I sense my body and my feeble heart on fire. I die though living and fall in open view, so is my soul deprived of its sense.)[76]

Angelo's play on 'sense' is different but still makes for a striking echo (one which would be very close indeed if, perhaps in a hasty reading, 'son sens' were taken to refer to Philanire herself).

The crux of Severe's anguish comes in a soliloquy of about one hundred lines covering roughly the same moral and emotional territory as those of Angelo, or, for that matter, Promos: he expatiates on his guilty and shameful passion, which is nonetheless irresistible. Comparison with Whetstone's relatively brief equivalents, however,[77] shows that *Philanire* not only develops greater emotional depth but throws into relief two points present in *Measure for Measure*, though not in *Promos and Cassandra*. One is the express connection between Philanire's attraction for Severus and her virtue: 'Le plus beau tain de sa viue vertue' (the most beautiful complexion of her lively virtue).[78] Angelo spontaneously asks in apostrophe, after all, to be saved 'from thee, even from thy virtue' (*MM*, II.ii.161). The other point matches Angelo's acute consciousness of violating the self-image on which his sense of identity has depended. Severe asks himself, 'Ou est ma superbe insolence, / Mon cueur hautain? mon arrogance?' (Where is my proud insolence, my haughty heart, my arrogance?);[79] he deplores his betrayal of 'mon nom, ma naissance / Et la loy que j'ay en puissance' (my name, my birth and the law whose power I wield).[80]

It very much looks (once again) as if Shakespeare is interweaving ideas from multiple sources, and at least three further distinctive details tend to confirm the intertextual contribution of *Philanire*. One bears on the characterisation of Isabella as staking her own identity on a notion of absolute sexual purity – the point resoundingly sealed by her declaration, 'More than our brother is our chastity' (*MM*, II.iv.185). Among the analogues, only in Roillet's tragedy does the heroine repeatedly insist on chastity as a virtue (here meaning fidelity to her husband). The word 'chasteté' is recurrent ('pudor' is standard in the

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Latin version), and in their key confrontation, Severe, reminding her of the law's power through him over her husband, taunts her in terms that might well suit Shakespeare's protagonist: 'Garde ta loy tant qu'il te plaira sainte / De chasteté' (Observe your law as long as you like, saint / Of chastity).[81] Subsequently, Philanire has a long debate with herself in which the value of chastity is again uppermost. Yet she finally addresses herself as '[c]ruelle' and comes to a conclusion opposite to Isabelle's:

> le peril de la vie
> De mon mary, m'oste plustost l'envie
> De chaste lict du nuptial honneur
> Que du salut de mon trescher seigneur.

(the danger to the life of my husband rather takes away desire for the nuptial honour of a chaste bed than for the safety of my dearest lord.)[82]

Although some version of the plot element is standard in the analogues, the mechanism by which Severe dupes Philanire into thinking he has kept his bargain, then presents her with her husband's dead body, is unique and particularly brutal. It is also suggestive intertextually. Severe has a bloodthirsty henchman named (appropriately enough) Sanga, whom he has previously instructed to kill Philanire's husband. Now, in her presence, he enquires about the state of a certain unnamed prisoner and is given the following report:

> Il ronfle & dort quasi comme vne iurongne
> Son haut sommeil monstre en luy telle troigne
> Qu'il n'y a bruit qui le puisse exciter.

(He snores and sleeps almost like a drunkard; his deep sleep shows such a boozer's face on him that no noise can rouse him.)[83]

Severe orders the prisoner to be produced, and Philanire rightly intuits the worst: continuing the crude humour about the prisoner's deep sleep, he confronts her directly with her husband's headless corpse. It is a sensational dramatic moment, without equivalent elsewhere (in the other versions, the governor is not present at the revelation), and quite superfluous in terms of plot. Yet it seems to have given Shakespeare a hint for the invention of Barnardine, precisely such a drunken prisoner who refuses, first to wake up, then to be beheaded to serve as a substitute for the condemned Claudius. Here the game of substitution turns out not to be one: again, tragic momentum excludes the redemptive comic device for which Shakespeare saw the potential.

Finally, it is irresistible to compare the violent reactions of the two heroines to the revelation of their betrayal, and of their loss. Isabella's, when the Duke

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informs her, is notoriously self-centred, especially considering that her chastity has been preserved, and it leaves Claudio quite out of the picture: 'O, I will to him, and pluck out his eyes' (*MM*, IV.iii.119). Philanire, still in confrontation with Severe, blends her outrage with long and powerful lamentation, both for her beloved husband and for her violated honour, then prays that God may infuse her arm with heroic strength. Severe scornfully asks what she might hope to do with it, and she replies:

> Ie veux prendre visee
> A te pocher de mes mains les deux yeux,
> Et te priver de la clarté des cieux.
>
> (I wish to take aim so as to gouge out your two eyes with my hands and deprive you of the light of the heavens.)[84]

A similar image is found in *Epitia*: it is used as a comparison by Angela, the sister of the guilty Juriste, in reporting to Epitia how angrily she rebuked her brother after the betrayal. The passage has, indeed, been claimed as decisive proof of Shakespeare's knowledge of the Italian play – and its language.[85] Such knowledge is quite possible, but Philanire's threatening of Severe makes a far more striking antecedent – all the more so because, in its rich context of anger and multiple grieving, it functions intertextually to expose the hollow isolation and solipsism of Isabella's reflexive outburst. Even on the rhetorical level, the tragic dignity of the neo-classical heroine, invoking a cosmic curse, shows up the prospective *bonne sœur*'s not-so-petty vindictiveness.

The *trouble-fête* and the 'secrets' of the 'prison-house'

By contrast with the comic hegemony enforced by the Duke's successive silencing of potential dissonant voices in *Measure for Measure* – from Angelo to Lucio to Isabella – *Twelfth Night* allows its concluding harmony not merely to be challenged by Malvolio but actually to remain dependent on him in a way not often given due weight. Yet it is a generically suggestive detail – albeit one often cut in performance – that the romantic fulfilment of Viola and Orsino continues contingent, indeed is indefinitely deferred. Orsino, initially jealous and violent at the conclusion, insists twice on seeing her in her woman's clothing before committing himself (*TN*, V.i.273, 387–8), and, in contrast, notably, with *As You Like It*, the visual confirmation is never provided. Rather surprisingly, Viola informs him that her clothes are in the keeping of the captain who rescued her, who 'upon some action / Is now in durance at Malvolio's suit' (275–6). This may be another brushstroke with

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the Puritan tint (and taint), but it is one that reinvests Malvolio with a form of power. Olivia promises to have Malvolio release the captain, but then remembers her steward's supposed madness, and the matter is put off by the disclosure of the plot against him. Malvolio finally exits before it is resolved, as Orsino reminds us: 'Pursue him, and entreat him to a peace; / He hath not told us of the captain yet' (380–1). On this information, and on the recovery of her garments, depends Viola's change from Cesario – and all besides. Given Malvolio's concluding vow of general vengeance, it might just occur to an audience that such entreaty could be difficult, and that the opportunity for the ultimate revenge – the hijacking of comic form – has been thrust upon him.

Malvolio's sudden, if indefinite and indirect, re-empowerment here highlights the fact that his sworn enemies within the play are themselves left in disarray, if not made irrelevant. Between Jaques' solitary renunciation of the 'dancing measures' in *As You Like It* and the draconian imposition of his own paces by Vienna's Duke, Sir Toby and Sir Andrew conspicuously fail to coordinate their dance steps – 'What is thy excellence in a galliard, knight? …' (*TN*, I.ii.120 ff.) – or their catches, and end up both well bloodied and thoroughly bowed. Their failure to be integrated into the households in romantic formation is inextricable from the trick played on Malvolio, as is confirmed by Sir Toby's marriage with Maria '[i]n recompense' (V.i.364). (This is another instance, although an unusually oblique one, of the lop-sided matches that regularly comment in a minor key on Shakespearean comic fulfilment.) As for Feste/Sir Topas, his involvement evidently does not amuse Olivia – she does not rescind her promise to Malvolio to let him be the 'judge / Of [his] own cause' (V.i.354) – and his casual putting-off of his pretence to spiritual authority ('but that's all one' (373)) modulates into the closing note ('But that's all one, our play is done' (407)) of a decidedly downbeat final measure: 'For the rain it raineth every day' (392 etc.).

The main point here is that the Malvolio business, however grafted on to the known sources, is not isolated – or isolatable – but rather insinuates its tragic counter-current by more than one channel. Given that the mainspring of this effect is yet another figure who identifies himself confidently with the Law as he lays it down to others, yet who is impossibly distanced from self-knowledge by multiple forms of 'concupiscence' lurking in his heart, his punishment evokes that of Barran's L'Homme at the hands of Satan, by whom Malvolio is indeed supposedly possessed. But in Shakespeare's treatment, that punishment is merely, of course, a deliberately constructed fiction, superficial and symbolic, so that once again spiritual evolution is short-circuited by comic convention. This is precisely why the tragic shadow is not dissipated.

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I suggest that another French intertext, or rather cluster of intertexts, might have induced spectators at once to maintain their comic distance on Malvolio and to admit the intrusion of reality into the fantastic world of Illyria. Such a response may well have begun, as has been proposed, with a reminiscence of English court officials who intervened to put a stop to late-night disorders (one recorded case involved a card game, another a gossip session among Maids of Honour).[86] But the particular trick played on Malvolio to expose his concupiscence as a self-love inextricable from ambition and tinged with lust, according to his more sensual fantasies ('having come from a day-bed, where I have left Olivia sleeping (II.v.48–9)) and Sir Topas's construction ('Talkest thou of nothing but ladies?' (IV.ii.26)), might rather have recalled an eccentric French figure who had recently been thrusting himself into the public eye.

In 1595, a long-brewing crisis within the Reformed Church in France came to a head with the spectacular expulsion from the ministry of a prominent pastor, no less than the spiritual counsellor of the Princess Catherine de Bourbon, the only sister of Henri IV, who remained staunchly Protestant despite her brother's conversion. Pierre Victor Palma Cayet (as the name is now standardised) was accused of a wide range of offences, including false piety, ambition, licentiousness (including authorship of a book inciting to sexual misconduct), diverting his mistress's alms-money, and, not least, sorcery (to the point where he had attracted the sobriquet of 'Petrus Magus'). His attempts to refute these charges were officially rejected. In very short order after his destitution, moreover, he publicly proclaimed his conversion to Catholicism and was received into that church, then soon after named Doctor of Theology (though he never escaped a reputation for dangerous opinions). Predictably, his enemies redoubled their pamphlet attacks, claiming that he had hypocritically been planning his conversion. Cayet, an able and facile author, riposted with pamphlets of his own, and subsequently exemplified his new faith by attacking Protestant doctrine. Perhaps most notably, he aggressively defended the existence of purgatory as necessary in the divine scheme to burn away crimes and errors committed during life.

I have elsewhere proposed that Cayet's translation of the German *Faustbuch*, although its first confirmed publication dates from 1598, may be relevant to Marlowe's tragedy.[87] His close connection with the court of Navarre (he had tutored the young Catherine, and, more briefly, Henri himself) is likely to have made him of interest within English circles concerned with French religious affairs well before a well-publicised 1602 theological debate with Pierre Du Moulin, who had strong English connections. This is not the place to review in detail his sensational and controversial career: the long article in Pierre Bayle's monumental *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, in

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its early nineteenth-century edition, with its interventions by various editorial hands, gives a good sense of how much doubt and dispute swirled publicly about the man during (and after) his lifetime.[88]

The text bearing most notably on *Twelfth Night*, in my view, is the most impressive sustained attack on Cayet, perhaps the first published. It appeared initially in 1595, then was diffused much more widely by its 1599 reprinting in a collection of documents relating to the Holy League compiled by the Calvinist Simon Goulart. The (anonymous) *Response d'vn Gentilhomme Catholique, aux lettres d'vn sien amy, sur la conuersion de maistre Pierre Cahier* pretends to be the work of a Catholic concerned about welcoming Cayet into the fold, but this is almost certainly a smokescreen for vitriolic (if highly detailed) vindictiveness stemming from the target's erstwhile co-religionists.[89]

In addition to the accusations already mentioned, one finds in the first pages of this diatribe a striking anecdote illustrating at once Cayet's vanity, his ambition for a marriage above his station, his amorous propensities and, most fundamentally, his blindness to his own ridiculous pretensions. The writer claims that during his residence in Béarn, when the Princess Catherine had her household there, he fell in love with a rich lady far above his condition, who naturally did not take his suit seriously but rather 'prenoit du passetemps aux actions ridicules de ceste homme' (was amused by the ridiculous actions of this man).[90] (She is identified as the Baroness d'Arroz, 'Dame de grands moyens, dextraction [*sic*] noble, des mieux apparentes de tout le pays' (a lady of great wealth, of noble ancestry, among the best allied of all the region).[91]) He nevertheless pursued her and, despite her refusal, deluded himself into hope, less out of love than because 'vne passion frenetique qui luy est ordinaire, auoit esblouï son esprit' (a frenetic passion which is habitual with him had dazzled his mind), so that 'la misere de sa condition, l'inegalité toute notoire ne le pouuoit destourner' (the lowliness of his condition, the glaring inequality could not deter him).[92] Supposing that his physical unattractiveness might be the obstacle, he had a flattering portrait painted of himself and sent it to her: 'auec vn visage fraiz & gaillard, la barbe rase, vn chapeau gris, deux pendans aux aureilles, composez de rubis' (with a countenance lively and gay, his beard shaven, a grey hat, two pendants at his ears composed of rubies).[93] At this importunity the lady became annoyed and arranged for some of her kinsmen to warn him off.

While pursuing his courtship, when he was asked about the meaning of the portrait, Cayet is said to have explained that

> la couleur de son chapeau, monstroit le trauail auquel il estoit; l'oreille percee, la seruitude où il estoit, à l'exemple des serfs entre les Iuifs, lesqels apres les sept

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> annees pour signe de seruitude perpetuelle, se faisoient percer l'oreille, & que les rubis designoit le feu dont il estoit bruslé.
>
> (the colour of his hat showed the suffering he was in; the pierced ear his servitude, as with the slaves among the Jews, who after seven year had the ears pierced as a sign as perpetual servitude, and … the rubies designated the fire in which he was burning.)[94]

And at this point the author calls his (supposed) correspondent's attention to the theatrical potential of the situation, which he evokes sarcastically; such, he says, were the

> actions recommendables de celuy que vous esleuez tant, lesquelles certainement eussent apporté plus de recreation, representees au peuple sur vn theatre, que d'edification en l'Eglise.
>
> (praise-worthy actions of him whom you so exalt, which certainly would have afforded more recreation, represented to the public in a theatre, than edification in the church.)[95]

It is difficult indeed not to hear at this point the meta-dramatic chortle of Fabian at the success of the device of the forged letter: 'If this were play'd upon a stage now, I could condemn it as an improbable fiction' (*TN*, III.iv.127–8).

Shakespeare's plotters have just had the proof, of course, as Malvolio's delusion takes deeper hold, that they have merely provided the occasion for his unbalanced ego to topple over of its own weight. As Sir Toby puts it, 'His very genius hath taken the infection of the device' (*TN*, III.iv.129–30). This is the point, too, of the anonymous letter writer, who links Cayet's precipitate fall into the abyss of absurdity to his untenable haughtiness. The latter expressed itself in his notorious 'rancune' (vindictiveness), 'enuie' (jealousy) and 'aigreurs' (bitter feelings) in dealing with his fellow ministers, for 'l'opinion qu'il auoit de lui-mesme, luy esleuoit le cœur, & le rang qu'il tenoit, le rendoit insupportable' (the opinion he had of himself raised up his spirit, and the rank he held rendered him insufferable).[96] To match Malvolio's seeming money-lending vein, we are also reminded that 'l'ambition est ordinairement accompagnee d'auarice' (ambition is usually accompanied by avarice).[97] But the unruly fleshly appetite that the polemicist chiefly dwells on subsumes all the man's vices, according to a now-familiar paradigm: Cayet has no other god or religion, the reader is informed, but his 'concupiscence, qui combat contre la loy de Dieu' (concupiscence, which strives against the law of God).[98] (The evocation of Barran's morality is not simply fortuitous, since both cases deploy the distinctive discourse of Protestant moral theology: Cayet is as much a

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'perfect Pharisee', in this perspective, as is Malvolio for those who aim to expose him.)

If Cayet's amatory self-delusion was not focused on his royal mistress, neither were his gross misdemeanours deterred, according to the *Response*, by 'la maison & la presence de la plus sage, plus chaste, plus vertueuse Princesse du monde' (the household and the presence of the most wise, most chaste, most virtuous princess in the world).[99] On the contrary, his material and moral abuse of his privileged position in her household is insistently developed, including the licentious indulgence of fleshly appetites, to the point where he emerges as a virtual counterpart of Sir Toby beneath his cloak of pious respectability and serious learning. This is part of the point, of course, made about Malvolio, with the support of Maria, who terms him 'sometimes a kind of puritan' (*TN*, II.iii.140) but not 'any thing constantly but a time-pleaser' (147–8).

Anyone who followed the controversy over Cayet's dismissal from the ministry, which inevitably entailed the loss of his position in Catherine's household, would have been aware of the vexed issue of his relations with his mistress. (She is invariably referred to in the pamphlets by the official courtesy title of the king's sister, 'Madame', and it is hard not to think of Feste's predilection for addressing Olivia as 'Madonna'.[100]) Cayet's own view is expressed in what seems to have been his first public defence of his character and conversion (a bitter *Responce* of over one hundred pages, also published in 1595).[101] The riposte is apparently aimed most immediately at another pamphlet, this one attributed to François de Laubéran, seigneur de Montigny, which refers only obliquely to an accusation involving misbehaviour with an unnamed 'Damoiselle'[102] and expends most of its vitriolic ink on Cayet's alleged immoral writings and magical practices, although ambition and avarice are given their due weight. Most interesting, however, is its focus on the role of Madame, represented as wanting her minister's conduct looked into impartially but as maintaining a charitable regard for him if he could be shown to be innocent.[103] She is finally convinced otherwise, however, and so turns him out.

The role of Madame is central to Cayet's *Responce*, which refutes in more or less evasive fashion the various allegations against him (including, it seems, that involving the improper courtship, which he dismisses on the grounds of his principled opposition to marriage by priests[104]). His chief general defence is to accuse the hostile ministers of jealousy because of his favour with the King but especially his privileged position in the household of 'son Altesse Madame', as he repeatedly terms her. There are repeated obsequious mentions of 'Madame', but his attitude remains haughty. He accuses his enemies of fomenting disorder and forcing him out of her service despite his never-ending devotion and against her own will.[105] At one point her steward,

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'Monsieur le Concierge de son hostel',[106] is said to have informed him that he must vacate his chamber – a virtual blueprint for the turning of the tables on Malvolio. All this is due to the boldness and impudence of his enemies, who have supposedly succeeded, not in turning Madame against him but in convincing her that his new religion will bring her household into disrepute.

Cayet concludes this pamphlet with the hope that Madame will be converted, and this is the whole purport of another dating from 1601 (probably just in time for *Twelfth Night*): *Svpplication tres-hvmble a Madame, etc.*[107] In fact, humility is hardly the keynote, despite a passing apology for his 'hardiesse' (boldness).[108] The tone is strident in its self-righteousness to the point of recalling Malvolio's letter to Olivia – 'By the lord, Madam, you wrong me and the world shall know it' (*TN*, V.i.302–3) – complete with religiously tinged self-righteousness and a touch of what Feste's mad '*vox*' (296) must inject in performance; if he were not bound to her and to provide for her salvation, he says,

> ie laisserois volontiers passer à sourde oreille tous les vains discours que i'oy, & qu'on publie, par lesquels on tasche de vous retenir tousiours en l'erreur où vous estes.
>
> (I would willingly turn a deaf ear to all the vain discourses that I hear, and that are published, by which one tries to keep you still in the error in which you are placed.)[109]

As it is, however, his adversaries must be countered because they are out of control, like madmen who deny their need for physicians:

> comme c'est en ces gens là vne tresdangereuse foiblesse de iugement, vne miserable imbecillité d'esprit, voire vn aueuglement deplorable, qui se sentans enfondrez en vn abysme de fantasies trespernicieuses de leurs opinions erronees, dont ils ne peuuent non plus que les phrenetiques voir seulement en patience le Medecin, qui se presente à eux, ni flairer de loing la medecine, pour la corruption intrinseque de toutes les facultez de leurs ames, qui ne se plaisent qu'en desguisemens.
>
> (as there is in those persons a most dangerous feebleness of judgement, a wretched weakness of mind, indeed a deplorable blindness, when they feel themselves fallen into an abyss of most pernicious fantasies of their erroneous opinions, so that they cannot any more than those who are frenetic even view with patience the physician who appears to them, nor tolerate from a distance the odour of the medicine, because of the inner corruption of all the faculties of their souls, which take pleasure only in false appearances).[110]

It is clearly Cayet's own language here that, carrying further the tendencies already evident in his *Responce*, risks going off the reasonable rails. Predictably,

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behind the errors preached by the Protestants lie the ruses of Satan, but one could be forgiven for detecting a touch of possession in his discourse, such as might invite the ministrations of a Sir Topas, despite the 'madman''s claim to perfect reason and resistance to spiritual medicine.

This brings us to Malvolio's punishment, his parodic purgation of his gross faults by Maria and company in a hellish experience from which he duly emerges as a parody of a vengeful ghost. This symbolism, too, is germane to the intertextual inflection of Malvolio's character. In 1600 – again in time for *Twelfth Night* (and indeed for *Hamlet*) – appeared Cayet's first treatise on purgatory: *Le pvrgatoire prouué par la Parole de Dieu*. This purports to be a closely reasoned theological argument, and there is due attention to biblical passages in different translations, but there are also traces of the imaginative extravagance that must have encouraged accusations of unorthodoxy, such as were incurred by his second treatise on the subject in 1603.

The author is careful to distinguish between the eternal fire of hell following the last Judgement and that which is provided by 'Iugement temporel … vn certain terme' (temporal judgement for a certain time) in purgatory, until it burns away 'toutes noz macules' (all our stains), since 'rien de soüillé n'entrera en Paradis' (nothing unclean will enter into Paradise).[111] The image of Satan chained in Apocalypse 22 refers to our liberation from this 'prison'; the image is insisted on:

> Ceste prison est le feu de Purgatoire, duquel nous ne pouuons pas tousiours estre retenus: mais cela se faict seulement pour vn temps.
>
> (This prison is the fire of Purgatory, in which we cannot always be held: but that lasts only for a time.)[112]

We are not far in wording (or perhaps in imaginative extravagance) from *Hamlet*'s Ghost,

> Doom'd for a certain time to walk the night,
> And for the day confin'd to fast in fires,
> Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature
> Are burnt and purg'd away.
> (*Ham.*, I.v.10–13)

The latter, of course, is forbidden to 'tell the secrets of my prison-house' (14), but it appears that the locale holds none for Cayet.[113] His expertise extends to the sort of crimes for which one must be purified – not just, he specifies, 'des pechez & delicts que l'homme commet' (sins and crimes that man commits), but all 'affections desordonnées' (disordered affections).[114]

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Ironically, of course, the accusations against Cayet prominently included the latter, in quite similar terms –'pollution d'esprit & de corps' (pollution of mind and body'[115]) – and it is a notion that quite suits, as well, the delusive desires of the destabilised Malvolio. It is just such desire that Feste/Sir Topas evokes on his visit to the 'prison' (*TN*, IV.ii.18) where Malvolio lies bound in darkness, doing 'penance' (III.iv.138):

> *Malvolio*. Sir Topas, Sir Topas, good Sir Topas, go to my lady.
> *Clown*. Out, hyperbolical fiend! how vexest thou this man! Talkest thou nothing but of ladies?
>
> (IV.ii.23–6)

'Concupiscence' is a major preoccupation of the 'Gentilhomme Catholique', and Cayet's reputed defence of it constitutes a sin so vile that only God could devise suitable punishment.[116] One has to do with 'vne ame eshontee, puante, infecte' (a soul shameless, stinking, infected),[117] and as the diatribe draws to a close, Cayet's sexual appetite is blended with gluttony, avarice and ambition into an egregiously unholy stew of vices.[118] He is already busy enriching himself, and his conversion is baited with the hope of 'la iouïssance de quelque grande & riche Abbaye, pour parvenir à vn Euesché' (enjoyment of some large and rich abbey in order to attain a bishopric).[119]

The conclusion also harps on the fact that his 'vie a été autresfois tachee pour la Magie & sciences occultes, auxquelles il s'est fort addonné' (life has sometimes been impugned on the grounds of the magic and occult sciences to which he devoted himself).[120] These accusations have remained conjectures, but the 'Gentilhomme Catholique' cites as evidence his continuing casting of nativities and fortune-telling as well as his association with a notorious magician. The author virtually concludes his peroration by evoking Cayet's translation of the damnable life of the notorious German conjurer, *L'histoire prodigieuse et lamentable du docteur Fauste*, affirming that, for his part, he could present an 'histoire vrayement prodigieuse' (truly prodigious history) of the secret life of Cayet.[121] It seems especially to the point, in this context, that Malvolio effectively asks for the hellish torment of Satanic possession to be thrust upon him when he practises the conjurer's standard gambit of twisting letters charged with hidden meaning and power. He twists them, however, only to conjure unwittingly – indeed, with a glaring lack of wit, as if he were merely the sorcerer's apprentice – the demon within himself, which others will bind and exorcise: 'what should that alphabetical position portend? If I could make that resemble something in *me*! Softly! M.O.A.I.' (II.v.118–20; my italics).

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It will be clear that the French shadow cast by Malvolio, in this reading, adds substantial support to the resolution of the alphabetical enigma proposed by D'Orsay W. Pearson, who likewise recognised the love-trick as finally played by Malvolio literally on himself.[122] It is, after all, in these terms that Olivia rebukes Malvolio when we first meet them, as Malvolio denigrates the wit of Feste (and thereby invites retribution): 'O, you are sick of self-love, Malvolio, and taste with a distemper'd appetite' (I.v.90–1). Repeated as the riddle is, the scrambled alphabet served up to Malvolio by Maria would surely have evoked on stage, all the more tantalisingly for its approximation – and perhaps with a suitable effect of 'vox', such as Feste later turns back on the 'madman' – the contemporary French pronunciation of 'moi'.[123] So understood, the riddle offers an actor a golden opportunity of showing the Clown's enemy transformed, despite himself, into Olivia's true, if amateur and unworthy, 'corrupter of words' (*TN*, III.i.36).

It enriches the parodic evocation of the revenge paradigm through Malvolio to recognise that the essence of his 'penance' is precisely to strip him of his sense of who he is. Such is, after all, the standard impetus to recreate the self through acts of destruction.[124] Shylock and Angelo also undergo such demolition, but comic process leaves them with no choice but to accept the substitute identities thrust upon them by public acts of humiliating mercy: an unwilling Christian stripped of daughter and ducats; an unwillingly 'new-married man' (*MM*, V.i.400) rendered 'safe' and *subject* in every sense. Malvolio, at least, retains a smack of vindictive agency, and it threatens to destabilise the comic denouement that, as Viola intimated almost from the start, should generically coincide with the time of the play: 'O time, thou must untangle this, not I, / It is too hard a knot for me t'untie' (*TN*, II.ii.40–1). He retains even an aura of the madness that traditionally belongs to the tragic revenger – thanks in part, perhaps, to echoes of the outraged discredited protégé of 'Madame', who likewise refused to accept that the 'whirligig of time', as Feste puts it, should cease the 'revenges' it 'brings in' (V.i.376–7) with the triumphant laughter of his enemies.

Notes

1 See, e.g., Barbara A. Mowat, 'Shakespearean Tragicomedy', in Nancy Klein Maguire (ed.), *Renaissance Tragicomedy: Explorations in Genre and Politics* (New York: AMS Press, 1987), pp. 80–95, who associates *MM*, *AWW*, and *Tro.* in these terms. Clubb, 'Woman as wonder', argues for a broader view and concentrates on spiritually resonant comic heroines. Cf. the reading of *MM* in terms of Counter-Reformation models by Michele Marrapodi, 'Beyond the Reformation: Italian intertexts of the ransom plot in *Measure for Measure*', in Michele Marrapodi (ed.),

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Shakespeare, Italy, and Intertextuality (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), pp. 73–90.

2 See Chapter 3, p. 82, and n. 1.

3 See Paul N. Siegel, 'Shylock and the Puritan usurers', in Arthur D. Matthews and Clark M. Emery (eds), *Studies in Shakespeare* (Miami, FL: University of Miami Press, 1953), pp. 129–38.

4 As usual, the judicious and comprehensive analyses of Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare,* are invaluable in establishing what we know – and do not. For *Mer.*, see vol. 1, pp. 445–62; for *TN*, vol. 2, pp. 269–85; for *MM*, vol. 2, pp. 399–417.

5 I do not underestimate the tendency of both authors and printers in the period to apply generic labels loosely and sometimes arbitrarily, including 'tragedy', 'history', and especially 'comedy'. This is part of the humour at the expense of Polonius' proliferation of terms (*Ham.*, II.ii.396–400) in praising the players (who had just been introduced by Rosencrantz, incidentally, as 'tragedians' (328)). But another part is arguably his missing-out of 'tragicomedy', and a case can be made that, in most cases where plays are so termed, even prior to Guarini, the choice is more likely to be a considered one.

6 See Eugène Haag and Émile Haag (eds), *La France protestante ou vies des protestants français qui se sont fait un nom dans l'histoire, etc.*, 10 vols, vol. 1 (Paris: J. Cherbuliez, 1846), pp. 263–6. It is striking that texts associated more or less directly with the court of Navarre turn up with some frequency in exploring French analogues and parallels with Shakespeare's work; this chapter will provide a further example relating to *TN*. Cf. Hillman, *French Reflections*, pp. 34–5, 42–3, 184–5.

7 Henry de Barran, *Tragiqve comedie françoise de l'homme iustifié par Foy* ([Geneva: Zacharie Durant,] 1554. I cite the copy available on Gallica at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k702797; publication information and holdings from the *Universal Short Title Catalogue*: http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/record/20709; both sites accessed 30 January 2019. Translations are taken from Henri de Barran, *Mankind Justified by Faith: Tragicomedy*, trans. with introduction and notes by Richard Hillman, online, Scène Européenne – Traductions Introuvables, Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, Université de Tours: https://sceneeuropeenne.univ-tours.fr/traductions/mankind-justified-faith; accessed 31 January 2019. The original text is divided into acts and scenes, with a Prologue and Conclusion; the line numbers added are taken from the translation and correspond with those of the only modern edition: Henri de Barran, *Tragique comédie française de l'homme justifié par Foi*, ed. Régine Reynolds-Cornell, in Luigia Zilli, Mariangela Miotti, Anne Bettoni *et al.* (eds), *La comédie à l'époque d'Henri II et de Charles IX*, ser. 1, vol. 6 (1541–1554), Théâtre Français de la Renaissance (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1994).

8 See, notably, J. S. Street, *French Sacred Drama from Bèze to Corneille: Dramatic Forms and their Purposes in the Early Modern Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 41–2.

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9 Thomas Kirchmeyer, *Le marchant converti, tragedie nouuelle, en laquelle la vraye & fausse religion, au parangon l'vne de l'autre, sont au vif representées, pour entendre quelle est leur vertu & effort au combat de la Conscience, etc.* ([Geneva]: Jean Crespin, 1558). (If Crespin was not the translator but merely the publisher, he had located a translator with rare dramatic and literary sensitivity.)

Kirchmeyer is better known for his anti-Papal *Pammachius*, which was performed at Cambridge and translated by John Bale, and which served to inspire John Foxe's *Christus Triumphans* (1556). See Murray Roston, *Biblical Drama in England: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. 57; Paul Whitfield White, 'The *Pammachius* affair at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1545', in Peter Happé and Wim Hüsken (eds), *Interludes and Early Modern Society: Studies in Gender, Power and Theatricality*, Ludus – Medieval and Early Renaissance Theatre and Drama, 9 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), pp. 261–90; and Charles H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1886), pp. 119–48. Roston's conclusion that 'the continental drama was well known in England at this time, and there was a fruitful interchange of ideas' (p. 57) has still not been as fully documented as seems possible, despite a recent renewal of interest in the post-Reformation English stage. Tamara Atkin, for instance, in *The Drama of Reform: Theatre and Theatricality 1461–1553*, Late Medieval and Early Modern Studies, 23 (Tournhout: Brepols, 2013), deals extensively with Bale and Lewis Wager, but leaves contemporary continental drama quite out of the picture.

10 Richard Hillman, 'Faustus face to face with damnation: another morality model', *Notes and Queries*, 64 (2017), 256–64.

11 See Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, p. 451.

12 It is a 'spin-off' at a considerable remove, given its complex engagement with contemporary social, economic and cultural issues; on the work in this context, see Lloyd Edward Kermode (ed.), Introduction, *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, The Revels Plays Companion Library (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 1–78, esp. 28–30, and Claire Jowitt, 'Robert Wilson's *The Three Ladies of London* and its theatrical and cultural contexts', in Thomas Betteridge and Greg Walker (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 308–22. One of the most remarkable departures from Kirchmeyer (indeed, from the morality tradition generally) is that even Lady Conscience is finally tainted by Lucre, 'spotted … with all abomination' (Wilson, *The Three Ladies of London*, in Kermode (ed.), *Three Renaissance Usury Plays*, x.125).

13 Wilson, *The Three Ladies of London*, xiv.48.

14 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, 'Au Lecteur' (running title 'Epistre'), sig. a2^{v}; *Mankind*, p. 5.

15 Regrettably, these are omitted from Reynolds-Cornell, ed.

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16 Street, *French Sacred Drama*, p. 42, simply identifies Rabby as a Catholic priest, like the Curé in *Mercator*, and this is echoed by Reynolds-Cornell (ed.), Introduction, pp. 441–9, 441. Such a reductive reading ignores not only the character's pointed identification with Mosaic Law, as sustained through the biblical allusions, but also the medieval tradition of the Synagogue versus the Church.

17 See Paul Whitfield White, 'The Bible as play in Reformation England', in Jane Milling and Peter Thomson (eds), *The Cambridge History of British Theatre*, vol. 1: Origins to 1660 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 87–115, 111.

18 See Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, III.v.1042–3.

19 On this opposition in its original context, see Wolfgang S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, trans. Lee Chadeayne and Paul Gottwald (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1970), esp. chapter 9, 'Synagoga's Blindfold' (pp. 95–109), which documents motifs echoed in Barran's theatricalisation: the structure of *disputatio*; the veiling of Synagoga (sometimes identified with Moses), which may be effected by the devil in the form of a coiling serpent. See also Paul Weber, *Geistliches Schauspiel und kirchliche Kunst in ihrem Verhältnis erläutert an einer Ikonographie der Kirche und Synagoge. Eine kunsthistorische Studie* (Stuttgart: P. Neff, 1894), pp. 69–110, and Lewis Edwards, 'Some English examples of medieval representation of Church and Synagogue', *The Jewish Historical Society of England, Transactions*, 18 (1953–55), 63–75.

20 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, II.vi.777.

21 *Ibid.*, IV.viii.1500–1.

22 *Ibid.*, IV.vii.1506.

23 *Ibid.*, V.ii.1723.

24 Barbara K. Lewalski, 'Biblical allusion and allegory in *The Merchant of Venice*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 13 (1962), 327–43. See also notably John Scott Colley, 'Launcelot, Jacob, and Esau: Old and New Law in *The Merchant of Venice*', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 10 (1980), 181–9. The underlying theology is summarised by Roland Mushat Frye, *Shakespeare and Christian Doctrine* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 80–1, and applied to both *Mer.* and *MM* in his discussion of mercy (pp. 206–12).

25 John Bale's staging of Mosaic and Christian law in his anti-Catholic *Thre Lawes* (first pub. *c.* 1547) naturally presents similarities in doctrine, including the function of 'Moseh Lex' to 'burden sore mannys conscyence': 'To hym am I death / when hys lyfe is infect' (John Bale, *A Comedy concernynge thre lawes of nature, Moses and Christ*, in Peter Happé (ed.), *The Complete Plays of John Bale*, 2 vols, vol. 2 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986), III.796–7). Paul's image of the veil also figures there: Ambycyon and Covetousness 'A vayle … have cast doughtles, / The lyght of the lawe to hyde' (III.1245–46); Deus Pater removes it (V.1890). In dramatic terms, however, Bale's interlude is tangential to the approaches of Shakespeare and Barran.

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26 See Lewalski, 'Biblical allusion and allegory', p. 327, citing Neville Coghill and Israel Gollancz.

27 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, IV.v.1380–2.

28 See *OED* Online, December 2018, Oxford University Press: www.oed.com, *s.v.*; accessed 31 January 2019. The evolution of the term towards fleshly appetites, and sexual desire in particular, is documented in French as in English, and is dramatically exploited in Barran's representation of the diabolic seduction of L'Homme. Paul identifies 'concupiscence' with 'lust' in Rom. 7:7–8 in expounding the function of the Law – an obvious source for Barran. Cf. the distinction between fleshly and spiritual corruption as dramatised by Bale, *Thre lawes:*

> *Sodomismus.* I will corrupt Gods Image
> With most unlawfull usage,
> And brynge hym into dottage,
> Of all concupyscience.
> *Idolatria.* Within the flesh thu art,
> But I dwell in the hart,
> And wyll the sowle pervart
> From Gods obedyence.
> (II.683–90)

29 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, III.vi.1065–71.

30 *Ibid.*, III.iv.1113.

31 *Ibid.*, III.viii.1130 SD, 1144–5.

32 *Ibid.*, IV.ii.1272.

33 See *OED* Online, *s.v.*, adj., def. 2: 'Showing servile deference, cringing, flattering'. Cf. Frédéric Godefroy, comp., *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e^ au XV^e^ siècles* (1891–1902; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1982), where 'chattemiterie' is defined as 'affectation de manières humbles et flatteuses' (affectation of humble and flattering manners); Godefroy offers a citation from the (Protestant) Innocent Gentillet: 'Hypocrites qui font la *chatemitte*, et qui se disent grands zélateurs de saincte mère église' (Hypocrites who practise false humility and claim to be notable zealots of holy mother church). Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues (1611)*, Anglistica and Americana, 77 (fac. rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Holms, 1970), gives, for '*Chatemite*': 'An hypocrite; a counterfeiter of holinesse, religion, deuotion'.

34 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, IV.i.1172–4.

35 Given the overlapping discourses of Barran and Shakespeare on the point, it seems worth noting that 'rotten' is Cotgrave's first definition of 'pourri' (Cotgrave, *Dictionarie*, *s.v.*).

36 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, IV.i.1270–3, 1279–87.

37 *Ibid.*, II.vi.813 (speech heading). Paul confirms that this specious interpretation, presented with authority, is offered by 'Satan qui se transfigure' (Satan [who] has taken this disguise) (II.vi.824).

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38 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, II.vi.814–19. Cf. Rom. 2:13: 'For the hearers of the Law (are) not righteous before God: but the doers of the Law shalbe iustified.' Satan's speech exemplifies Antonio's observation to perfection, since he conspicuously omits the same chapter's strictures against outward conformity, as opposed to that of 'hearts'/'the heart' (2:15, 29), and ignores the next chapter: 'Therefore we conclude that a man is iustified by faith without the workes of the Law' (Rom. 3:28). Obviously to the point is 2 Cor. 11:13–15 with its distinction between false and true apostles:

> For suche false apostles are deceitful workers, and transforme them selues into the Apostles of Christ.
> 14 And no maruelle: for Satan himself is transformed into an Angel of light.
> 15 Therefore it is no great thing, thogh his ministers transforme them selues, as thogh (they were) the ministers of righteousnes, whose end shalbe accordyng to their workes.

39 Giovanni Fiorentino, *Il Pecorone* (Day 4, Story 1), in Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, trans. Geoffey Bullough, vol. 1, pp. 463–76, 469.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 472.

41 See Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 1, pp. 446–54. The argument of James Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 126, that the analogue in Alexander Sylvayne's *The orator* implies a menace of castration appears to me to distort both Shakespeare's text and that of Sylvayne, where the Jew, arguing that it is for the Christian to provide him with the exact pound of flesh, merely mentions the 'privie members' among a number of body parts he would not dare to cut off because he could not be sure of their exact weight; see Alexander Sylvayn, *The orator, etc.*, trans. Lazarus Pyott and Anthony Munday (London: Adam Islip, 1596), p. 403.

42 Shapiro, *Shakespeare and the Jews*, pp. 126–30.

43 Cinthio, *Epitia* (summary), in Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2, p. 431.

44 See Charles T. Prouty, 'George Whetstone and the sources of *Measure for Measure*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 15 (1964), 131–45, and Richard Hillman, *William Shakespeare: The Problem Plays*, Twayne's English Authors Series (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993), pp. 102–10.

45 George Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, in Geoffrey Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2, pp. 442–513, pt. I, II.iii (p. 452).

46 *Ibid.*

47 *Ibid.*, pt. II, V.iii (p. 513).

48 I have developed this relation more fully in '*Measure for Measure* and the (anti-) theatricality of Gascoigne's *The Glasse of Government*', *Comparative Drama* 42 (2008), 391–408; cf. Prouty, 'George Whetstone'.

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49 George Gascoigne, *The glasse of gouernement. A tragicall comedie so entituled, bycause therein are handled aswell the rewardes for vertues, as also the punishment for vices* (London: [Henry Middleton] for C. Barker, 1575). The intended effect on the audience hardly privileges the comic, according to the concluding moral drawn by the faithful servant Fidus: 'Masters, the common saying is clap your handes, but the circumstance of this wofull tragicall comedie considered, I may say iustly vnto you wring your handes, neuerthelesse I leaue it to your discretion' (sig. Miiii$^{r\text{-}v}$).

50 Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, pp. 442 (title), 444 ('Epistle Dedicatorie').

51 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, Prol.28–52.

52 Hillman, *Shakespearean Subversions*, pp. 150–7, and *Problem Plays*, pp. 129–34.

53 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, III.v.1037.

54 *Ibid.*, III.vi.1068.

55 It is also to the point that the Puritans, commonly stigmatised as the 'Jews of England', supposedly concealed their cupidity behind a self-interested interpretation of spiritual law. The satire at the expense of Ananais, in Ben Jonson, *The Alchemist*, ed. F. H. Mares, The Revels Plays (London: Methuen, 1967), differs only in comic degree:

> … the holy synod
> Have been in prayer, and meditation, for it.
> And 'tis revealed no less, to them, than me,
> That coining of money is most lawful.
> (IV.vii.75–8)

56 Barran, *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*, III.vii.1111–13.

57 *Ibid.*, III.viii.1115–18.

58 *Ibid.*, III.viii.1136–8.

59 *Ibid.*, IV.i.1278–82.

60 Sometimes written 'Rouillet', but I follow the BnF's standardisation.

61 See F. E. Budd, 'Rouillet's *Philanira* and Whetstone's *Promos and Cassandra*', *Review of English Studies*, 6 (1930), 31–48.

62 Bullough (ed.), *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2, p. 401.

63 Budd, 'Rouillet's *Philanira*', p. 44, n. 1.

64 See Virginia Scott, *Women on the Stage in Early Modern France: 1540–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 82–3, citing Raymond Lebègue, 'Le Répertoire d'une troupe française à la fin du XVI^{e} siècle', *Revue d'histoire du théâtre,* 1 (1948), 9–24, 11–12. The important, if fragmentary, documentation assembled by Lebègue attests to the mobility of this troupe, which toured chiefly in the French-speaking and Roman Catholic regions of the Low Countries; it was active until 1599, although whether *Philanire* continued in the repertory is unknown.

65 Cf. the definition, *s.v.*, in Cotgrave, *Dictionarie*: 'A Prouost Marshall (who is often both Informer, Judge, and Executioner) punishes disorderlie Souldiors, Coyners,

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Free-booters, highway robbers, lazie rogues, or vagabonds, and such as weare forbidden weapons'.

66 See Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, pt. II, IV.v (pp. 470–1).

67 See *OED* Online, *s.v.* 'provost', esp. def. 5.a. The title is specifically used for a prison-keeper supervising a (supposed) execution in André Mareschal's tragi-comic adaptation of Sidney's *Arcadia*, *La cour bergère, ou L'Arcadie de Messire Philippes Sidney* (Paris: T. Quinet, 1640), IV.vi. (For a translation, see *Sidney's 'Arcadia' on the French Stage: Two Renaissance Adaptations: 'Phalante', by Jean Galaut; 'The Shepherds' Court', by André Mareschal*, trans. with introduction and notes by Richard Hillman, Scène Européenne – Traductions Introuvables (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2018). Sidney's original mentions only an executioner – see Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. Maurice Evans (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1977), pp. 557–8 [bk. 2, chapter 21]).

68 See Hillman, '*Measure for Measure*', pp. 398–9; J. W. Lever (ed.), Introduction, *Measure for Measure*, The Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (London: Methuen, 1965), pp. xi–xcviii, xliv–xlv; Brian Gibbons, ed., *Measure for Measure*, New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1–72, 15; and Mary Lascelles, 'Sir Thomas Elyot and the legend of Alexander Severus', *Review of English Studies*, ns 2 (1951), 305–18, as well as *Shakespeare's* Measure for Measure (London: Athlone Press, 1953), p. 101.

69 Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, III.iii (p. 452).

70 Claude Roillet, *Tragédie françoise de Philanire femme d'Hypolite* (Paris: Nicolas Bonfons, 1577), fol. 7^{r}.

71 'Leue crimen, At crudelis est praetor nimis, / Leges suas solo cruore sanciens, / Minimum scelus suam trahit secum crucem' (a slight offence, but the praetor is too cruel, punishing only with bloodshed; with him, the slightest crime carries the death penalty') (Claude Roillet, *Philanira*, in *Varia Poemata* [Paris: G. Juliarum, 1556], fol. 3^{v}).

72 Roillet, *Philanire*, sig. Fiv^{r}.

73 *Ibid.*, fol. 40^{v}.

74 *Ibid.*, fol. 41^{r}.

75 *Ibid.*

76 *Ibid.*, fol. 11^{r}.

77 Whetstone, *Promos and Cassandra*, pt. I, II.iii (p. 453), III.i (p. 458), IV.ii (pp. 468–9).

78 Roillet, *Philanire,* fol. 17^{v}.

79 *Ibid.*, fol. 16^{v}.

80 *Ibid.*, fol. 17^{v}.

81 *Ibid.*, fol. 11^{v}.

82 *Ibid.*, fol. 14^{r}.

83 *Ibid.*, fol. 22^{v}.

84 *Ibid.*, fol. 24^{v}.

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85 Naseeb Shaheen, 'Shakespeare's knowledge of Italian', *Shakespeare Survey*, 47 (1994), 161–70, according to whom the element 'occurs in none of the other sources' (168). Yet the wording, like the context, is more remote than the parallel in *Philanire*: 'Male ne hò detto à Juriste, & poco meno / Che non gli habbia' cacciati ambiduo gli occhi' (cited by Shaheen, p. 167). Cf. Cinthio, *Epitia* (excerpts), trans. Bullough, III.ii (p. 436).

86 See Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 2, p. 284.

87 See *French Reflections*, 5–6, and, far more extensively, 'Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and the French translation of the *Faustbuch*', *Modern Language Review*, 112 (2017), 20–34.

88 Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique. Augmenté de notes extraites de Chaufepié, Joly, La Monnoie, Leduchat, L.-J. Leclerc, Prosper Marchand, etc.* 16 vols (1820–24; fac. rpt. Paris: AUPELF: France-expansion, 1973), vol. 4, pp. 289–98. See also Myriam Yardeni, 'Esotérisme, religion et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Palma Cayet', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 198 (1981), 285–308.

89 *Response d'vn Gentilhomme Catholique, aux lettres d'vn sien amy, sur la conuersion de maistre Pierre Cahier, cy deuant Ministre de l'Eglise pretendue reformee, escrite de Paris le premier de Decembre M.D.XCV* (n.d., n.pub., 1595); this edition will be cited. The reprint appeared in Simon Goulart (ed.), *Le sixiesme et dernier recveil, contenant les choses plvs memorables avenves sovs la Ligue, depuis le commencement de l'an M.D.XCIIII. jusques à la paix accordee entre les Rois de France & d'Espagne, l'an M.D.XCVIII* (n.p., n.pub., 1599), pp. 343–75. I have elsewhere cited this collection as evidence that the Count of Roussillon, at the time of the writing of *All's Well*, was also 'in the news'; see Hillman, *French Reflections*, p. 198, n. 48.

90 *Response d'vn Gentilhomme Catholique*, pp. 7–8.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

92 *Ibid.*

93 *Ibid.*

94 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

95 *Ibid.*

96 *Ibid.* The parallel holds more broadly but reaches an acme in Malvolio's scorn of Sir Toby, Maria and Fabian, sent to deal with his 'madness': 'Go hang yourselves all! You are idle shallow things, I am not of your element. You shall know more hereafter' (*TN*, III.iv.123–5).

97 *Response d'vn Gentilhomme Catholique*, pp. 8–9.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

100 So he does nine times in I.v, but the combination of language, tone and context is especially striking in V.i, when he has been giving Malvolio's protesting letter a not entirely false air of distraction and Olivia enjoins him to read in 'i' thy right wits': 'So I do, madonna, but to read his right wits is to read thus; therefore perpend, my princess, and give ear' (297–300). Viola-Cesario, incidentally, also addresses Olivia as 'princess' at III.i.97.

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101 Pierre Victor Palma Cayet, *Responce de Maistre Victor-Pierre Cayer. Contre les calomnies qu'on cuide mettre sur sa … conuersion à la vraye Église Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine* (Paris: Jean Richer, 1595).
102 François de Laubéran, seigneur de Montigny, *Advertissement aux fidelles sur la deposition du sieur Cahier du S. Ministere de l'Euangile, & sur sa reuolte* (n.p., n.pub., 1595), p. 5; a slightly corrected version appeared in the following year.
103 *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.
104 Cayet, *Responce de Maistre Victor-Pierre Cayer*, pp. 13–14.
105 *Ibid.*, pp. 90–2.
106 *Ibid.*, p. 91.
107 Pierre Victor Palma Cayet, *Svpplication tres-hvmble a Madame, Madame Soeur vniqve dv Roy, Duchesse de Bar & d'Albret, &c. Pour sa tres-desirée Conuersion à nostre Mere Saincte Eglise Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine* (Paris: Benoist Chalonneau and Silvestre Moreau, 1601). (Other editions in the same year – for the pamphet was remarkably well diffused – precede 'Svpplication' in the title with the less deferential 'Remontrance'.)
108 Cayet, *Svpplication*, p. 3.
109 *Ibid.*
110 *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.
111 Pierre Victor Palma Cayet, *Le pvrgatoire prouué par la Parole de Dieu* (Paris: D. Binet, 1600), fos 14^{v}–15^{r}.
112 *Ibid.*, fol. 24^{v}.
113 Cayet's orientation is theological, not geographical, but his timely pamphlets, along with those of his opponents, certainly contributed to the discursive climate in which Kristen Poole situates her argument that *Ham.* 'seems to tease the audience about the location of purgatory' (*Supernatural Environments in Shakespeare's England: Spaces of Demonism, Divinity, and Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 131); they further confirm her point that purgatory was '[f]ar from being forgotten in either Shakespeare's England or Hamlet's Denmark' (*ibid.*).
114 Cayet, *Le pvrgatoire prouvé*, fol. 27^{r}.
115 *Response d'vn Gentilhomme Catholique*, p. 34.
116 See *Response d'vn Gentilhomme Catholique*, p. 35.
117 *Ibid.*, p. 34.
118 *Ibid.*, pp. 68–9.
119 *Ibid.*, p. 69.
120 *Ibid.*, p. 67.
121 *Ibid.*, p. 69. The earliest published edition of the translation extant, unattributed and somewhat defensively entitled, is *L'histoire prodigieuse et lamentable du Docteur Fauste avec sa mort espouvantable. Là où est monstré, combien est misérable la curiosité des illusions et impostures de l'Esprit malin* (Paris: D. Binet, 1598). The 1595 pamphlet allusion shows that the translation was in existence in some form several years earlier, and known to be the work of Palma Cayet. See Richard

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Hillman, 'Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and the French translation of the *Faustbuch*', *Modern Language Review*, 112 (2017), pp. 20–34, 20–1.

122 D'Orsay W. Pearson, 'Gulled into an "I"-word, or, much ado about a pronoun', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 8 (1987), 119–30. I am also convinced by Pearson's vindication of the Folio reading, 'ayword' (= 'I-word') (II.iii.135), *pace* Peter J. Smith, 'M.O.A.I. "What should that alphabetical position portend?": an answer to the metamorphic Malvolio', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 51 (1998), 1199–224, 1206–7. Smith surveys a number of over-ingenious explanations of Malvolio's riddle (and, in my view, adds one of his own).

Needless to say, I do not feel the same need that Pearson did to justify the accessibility of such basic French word-play to Shakespeare's audience. Cf. the exchange of courtier's French between Sir Andrew and Viola at *TN*, III.i.71–2.

123 To Pearson's evidence regarding pronunciation ('Gulled into an "I"-word', pp. 119–30), may be added John Palsgrave, *L'éclaircissement de la langue française (1530), Texte anglais original, traduction et notes*, ed. Susan Baddeley, Textes de la Renaissance (Paris: H. Champion, 2003), fol. v^{r} (renumbered p. 87), on 'The soundyng of this diphthong oy' (or 'oi'), which makes 'moy' rhyme with 'boye', the latter, too, obviously in its contemporary English pronunciation. John Eliot proposes 'moe' (*Ortho-epia Gallica Eliots fruits for the French: enterlaced with a double new inuention, which teacheth to speake truely, speedily and volubly the French-tongue, etc.* (London: (Richard Field for) John Wolfe, 1593), sig. C^{v}.) The 'a', as the actor playing Malvolio might sound the sequence, helps to draw the vowels towards a diphthong resembling standard French pronunciation at the time (to judge also from modern recreations of early pronunciation). Cf. the current familiar interjection 'ouais' for 'oui' (see *Le trésor de la langue française informatisé*, *s.v.* 'ouais'; online: http://atilf.atilf.fr/tlf.htm,; accessed 2 February 2019).

124 A foundational text for this paradigm was *The Spanish Tragedy*, where the personified spirit of Revenge accompanies a ghost on leave, in quasi-purgatorial fashion, from a phantasmagoric pagan underworld. Cf. Richard Hillman, 'Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy*', in Betteridge and Walker (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Drama*, pp. 567 and 580–1, n. 6.

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5

Tragicomedy – and beyond?: the view through French spectacles

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This chapter shifts the focus to the late plays, especially the generically pivotal *Pericles* (almost certainly a collaboration with George Wilkins) and that supreme instance of Shakespearean tragicomic romance, *The Winter's Tale*. To apply that double label is quite deliberately to raise the terminological question, which, for most critics, arises with these plays in new ways – with implications, obviously, for this book's approach.[1] We are no longer dealing with comic patterns pulled in tragic directions by their Shakespearean treatment – in some cases, as I have proposed, by way of French intertexts – but with patterns intrinsically mingling the tragic and the comic and conditioned by pan-European romance traditions. We follow plots across tragic experiences (including 'real' deaths, except in *The Tempest*) to resolutions coded as comic but deeply informed by, and resonating with, those experiences. These are not plays that conclude with more or less cathartic exorcisms, whether by song and dance, or by laughter.

In aiming to demonstrate that French narrative and dramatic models, and ways of thinking about generic blending, can again shed light on Shakespeare's practice, the present study is anomalous. The critical literature on early modern tragicomedy is vast, but English material is rarely brought into contact with French. The three main founts of influence commonly taken to flow into English tragicomic composition are various Italian dramatic forms, the popular romantic drama of the earlier Elizabethan period decried by Sidney – some elements of which were demonstrably taken over by Shakespeare[2] – and late classical narrative (the Hellenistic novel).[3] At least as an undercurrent, the quintessential Christian movement from fall to redemption, often as mediated through biblical allusions, is universally admitted.[4] An interweaving of these strands has been generally allowed by literary historians, and is reflected in the various compilations of sources and analogues.[5]

The idea of Italian influence, however, as predominant, if not exclusive, has probably now moved into the ascendant to the point where it deserves

to be addressed. Earlier major studies of early modern tragicomedy, notably by Frank Humphrey Ristine and Marvin T. Herrick, rendered valuable service by placing English developments within a large European perspective, allowing quite freely for intertextual relations across national and linguistic boundaries.[6] More recently, however, Clubb has argued essentially for cutting the Gordian knot formed by the 'wars of Shakespearean classification'[7] on the grounds that the Italian pastoral tradition, with its experiments in genre theory and its improvisational practices, is sufficient to account for the English phenomena. Henke's work has provided a broad base for such a conclusion.[8] Marrapodi moves in the same direction.[9] Lois Potter goes a large step farther. Not only does she endorse the long-standing theory that Guarini, with *Il Pastor Fido* and especially *Il Compendio della poesie tragicomica*, his expository defence of the genre, was a major influence on Shakespeare's final tragicomedies, but she specifically posits that Shakespeare 'worked his way through [*Il Compendio*] in Italian during one of the many periods of plague closure', venturing additionally: 'Perhaps for the first time, he had started to think seriously about dramatic theory.'[10]

I am not sure how we can know such things, but there are obvious obstacles to taking *Pericles*, in particular, as a product of Guarini's influence, as Potter does.[11] One is the play's overt dependence on sources particularly remote from Italian pastoral. Another, more generically decisive, is its admission of death into the picture, even if the two principal instances are only supposed (a common device in the Hellenistic narratives). This anomaly has been recognised even by some advocates of Guarini's influence on the late plays, notably Henke.[12] The *Compendio* is unequivocal on the point, as is the principal self-styled ambassador of Guarini's theory and practice in England, John Fletcher, thanks to whom the most explicit definition of the genre in English lays claim to a specifically Italian heritage.

For when Fletcher, some eight years after Guarini, took up the generic cause in defending *The Faithful Shepherdess* (whose recent performance had not found favour with audiences), he insisted on the inadmissibility of the emblematic tragic experience. Regularly cited is the capsule definition provided by Shakespeare's successor, and collaborator, of a tragicomedy as a play that 'wants deaths, which is inough to make it no tragedie, yet brings some near it, which is inough to make it no comedie'; equally to the point is his assimilation of that rule to principles of decorum, for in the next sentence he limits the characters to 'familiar people' and the action to 'such kinde of trouble as no life be questioned'.[13] As has been observed, the troubles of Pericles would hardly qualify.[14]

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In any case, we perhaps distort the picture in taking Fletcher's defensive manifesto, deployed in a highly specific context, to indicate a broad understanding of tragicomedy as a distinctively Italian form. For one thing, the playwright quickly moved on in his own practice. His subsequent tragicomedies, including his collaborations (notably with Francis Beaumont, but also with Shakespeare in *The Two Noble Kinsman*), are far less closely tied to the model.[15] Moreover, even *The Faithful Shepherdess* applies that model loosely: it has decidedly grim and menacing moments – woundings, an attempted drowning. More broadly, it filters its pastoralism, not just through Elizabethan motifs and ideology, as has been thoroughly documented by Lucy Munro,[16] but also through recognisably Shakespearean comic stage practices: the moonlit magical transformations and permutations in Fletcher's wood are rife with echoes of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; the notions in *The Faithful Shepherdess* of fairy-pinching to punish unchaste thoughts (III.i) and taper-flame testing of them (V.v) had been staged in burlesque fashion in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Shakespeare himself having been inspired, seemingly, by Lyly's folkloric admixture to the Italianate devices of *Endymion*[17]). It is easy to suppose that Fletcher might have had difficulty in getting audiences to take them seriously after that.

My purpose here is hardly to exclude Italian practices or theories from the field of critical vision, nor even to diminish their significance, but to widen the field once again to allow for further currents of influence and more varied means of transmission. To legitimise the procedure, perhaps we may enlist an eminent cultural 'go-between', a translator in both the narrow and the broad senses, who would seem uniquely qualified to comment on tragicomedy as an Italian speciality and whom Henke, among others, identifies as transmitting Italian ideas about genre to Shakespeare.[18] Yet John Florio, in his Italian-English dictionary of 1611, settled for a succinct and inclusive, not notably Italian, definition of 'Tragicomœdia': 'a tragicomedie, beginning mournfully, and ending merily'.[19] This is, in effect, to cut the Gordian knot of cultural and generic complexity in a way that frees up its interwoven threads. Once this is done, we can more easily discern several neglected strands leading back to French intertexts and generic notions.

Indeed, even where the intertextual presence might seem narrowly local, the 'ungrammaticality' thereby created may shed light on how the tragic and comic are mingled in a given instance. To take a rare case where a French intertext is universally detected within these plays, it is worth reconsidering Gonzalo's wobbly utopian vision of a commonwealth in *The Tempest* – 'I would, by contraries, / Execute all things' (II.i.148–9) – which has long been recognised as substantially derived from Montaigne's essay 'Des Canibales',[20]

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but which Henke assimilates to 'modal dialogues' deriving from Italian pastoral tragicomedy.[21] The fact that the borrowing calls attention to itself – some spectators would certainly have identified it, and it is set off by the mocking interventions of Antonio and Sebastian – lends it a metadramatic, not just a thematic function, in a way that recycles Montaigne's rhetorical method in theatrical terms. For what finally emerges from the essayist's radical use of New World 'natural' humanity to subvert the unnatural inhumanity of the Old – 'Je pense qu'il y a plus de barbarie à manger un homme vivant qu'à le manger mort' (I thinke there is more barbarisme in eating men alive, than to feed upon them being dead)[22] – is the interdependence of the two perspectives, their contingency on interpretation. Each mode of being lies within human capacity, and when Montaigne exposes the atrocious cruelty of 'des voisins et concitoyens (*our* neighbours and fellow-citizens)',[23] he evokes the darkness within *us*. So, effectively, does Prospero, when he presents his Caliban/Cannibal, along with the hapless would-be murderers, Stephano and Trinculo, to the supposed elite of European 'civilisation':

> Two of these fellows you
> Must know and own, this thing of darkness I
> Acknowledge mine.
> (*Tmp.*, V.i.274–6)

This comes, of course, at the formal conclusion, when the comic light should be shining most brightly, and it fulfils the implicit promise made in the scene of Gonzalo's utopian speech to mobilise instead, by way of Montaigne, a tragicomic dynamic.

Even before that earlier scene shows the good old counsellor's speech counterpointed by the mockery of Antonio and Sebastian, the notion of choice between comic and tragic visions of nature has been thrown into relief. Gonzalo's optimism – 'How lush and lusty the grass looks! How green!' (Tmp., II.i.54) – clashes with the cynicism of the villains: '*Antonio.* 'The grass indeed is tawny. / *Sebastian.* 'With an eye of green in't' (55–6). The issue would be highlighted by a stage presenting no grass of any kind: dramaturgically, if hardly in tone, we are not far from the perspective on tragedy and comedy as paradoxically, if not absurdly, amalgamated, that is afforded by the blind Gloucester on his supposed cliff-top in *King Lear*. Moreover, Gonzalo's vision is indeed conspicuously partial and incoherent, inviting mockery as its supplement. That genre is at issue is confirmed by the immediate sequel, in which the two would-be murderers try literally to hijack in a tragic direction a play destined to end comically, as Ariel's timely intervention, on Prospero's orders, assures will be the case.

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This point leads to another consequence of the intertextual intervention of Montaigne. The virtual flaunting of the borrowing ironically shows up Gonzalo as, in his naïveté, reciting someone else's script. The effect is thoroughly to destabilise the similar role he will later play as a spokesman for eternal romance wonder – 'set it down / With gold on lasting' (*Tmp.*, V.i.207–8) – and self-realisation: 'all of us ourselves, / When no one was his own' (212–13). His generic inflation there is arguably ventriloquised in service to a political and materialist agenda that again devalues the island: '… Prospero, his dukedom / In a poor isle' (211–12). The earlier debate over the grass is echoed by the exchange between the magician and his daughter: 'O brave new world / … 'Tis new to thee' (183–4). To what extent the metadramatic structure enlists comedy in an ultimately tragic cause is likewise a question of interpretation, but it conspicuously opens a space for a renunciation of natural magic, a well-founded scepticism about sincere penitence – 'At this time / I will tell no tales' (128–9) – and a reminder that time and mortality have in no sense been transcended: 'Every third thought shall be my grave' (V.i.312).[24] This makes an especially ironic ending for the only one of the final tragicomedies that formally excludes death from its fictional world, as Montaigne never did from his imaginative field of vision.

Shakespeare's intertextual enlistment of Montaigne in the cause of generic transition and ambiguity is, I think, revealing in itself. The essayist's own ambiguities, uncertainties and mingling of comic and tragic perspectives on human nature and experience display the potential for reading 'reality' in varying ways, and notoriously foreground the instability of human perception. He conspicuously deploys these perspectives, moreover, across a large and diverse intertextual field of his own. It may be significant from this point of view that Shakespeare made such extensive use of the *Essais* at the time of writing *Hamlet*,[25] when his work began to shift preponderantly towards the tragic – not just tragedy as a discrete genre but through the increasing incorporation of tragic elements into what would prove to be the final formal comedies, as discussed in the previous chapter. I will be providing further evidence below that Shakespeare returned to the French essayist some ten years later in conjunction with the final major turn in his generic practice.

Romance and tragicomedy across the Channel

Before making a case for French intertexts as significantly illuminating *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale*, it is worth briefly insisting on the importance and chronological scope of tragicomedy as a genre on the French dramatic scene. It did not originate in 1582, as traditional scholarship tended to assume – and

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Herrick follows on this point – with *Bradamante*, Robert Garnier's highly literary adaptation of Ariosto, which seemingly was not staged until early in the seventeenth century.[26] Nor, as more recently claimed, is the *Lucelle* of Louis Le Jars (1576, and multiply republished) the first tragicomedy to have survived,[27] although it is certainly an interesting one, with apparently dead lovers coming back to life to thwart parental opposition to their apparently unequal marriage (the supposed steward turns out to be a prince). Rather, plays claiming to mix tragedy and comedy in France can be traced back to around the mid-sixteenth century and present an affinity with the mysteries and moralities, including religious content – a point suggestive in itself.[28] Subsequently, tragicomedy of various kinds persisted as part of the French dramatic picture for about a hundred years, reaching its zenith in the baroque era and finally waning around 1640, as the rigours of neo-Aristotelian classicism disallowed its formal 'irregularities' and extravagant stage effects.[29]

This is not the place to attempt a comprehensive history of the form – or forms, since in France, as in England, the label was variously, often loosely, applied. An instance on the English side is Gascoigne's grimly didactic *The glasse of gouernement* (1575), discussed in Chapter 4.[30] In France, at the opposite extreme, one finds *La nouvelle tragi-comique* (pub. 1587) of the (aptly-named) Marc Papillon, seigneur de Lasphrise, a brief and chaotic text, mingling dialogue and narrative, which, despite the claim that has been made for it as serious theatre, is much more in the tradition of farce and fabliau; the only point bearing on genre is the author's curious affirmation that the title follows from his decision not to imitate 'l'ardeur antique' (the rigour(?) of Antiquity), by which he must mean any kind of sustained dramatic composition.[31] Moreover, again as in England, a number of French plays that called themselves either comedies or tragedies are not unadulterated models of either by formal standards. What is most striking from the English, and especially Shakespearean, perspective is the emergence early in the period of a number of texts that graft material of different origins – from biblical to pastoral to chivalric romance – onto structures that essentially trace the simple trajectory described by Florio ('beginning mournfully, and ending merily'), with the broad proviso of performing poetic – encoded as providential – justice. For as a rule, characters are treated by tragicomic universes as they deserve, although mercy is generally denied only to the recalcitrant. Barran's archetypal tragicomic morality, discussed in Chapter 4, which comes early indeed in the period, provides a Christian explanation for this which, while resolutely Protestant, contrasts with the retributive Puritanism of Gascoigne.

So, less abstractly, and with a sharp political point, does the 'tragi-comédie' of *Nabuchodonosor*, by Antoine de La Croix (1561), which likewise has a

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connection with the Protestant court of Navarre: it was dedicated to Jeanne d'Albret on the eve of the first War of Religion (1562) in terms evoking the trials of the contemporary faithful. Those trials are obviously adumbrated in the story of the fiery furnace (from Daniel 3) to which Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego are condemned for refusing to worship the golden image. True (inevitably) to the biblical account, the tyrant is converted by their miraculous survival to acknowledge the true God. Allowing for translation to a secular level (though with a Neoplatonic charge), we are not far from the pattern of tyranny defeated, indeed converted, by display of faith that is expounded by the court play *Damon and Pythias*, by Richard Edwards (1571), which is usually termed the first English tragicomedy. It is notable that the terminology is hardly in place: the original title page calls the piece a 'Comedie' – perhaps in the common general sense of dramatic work – while the transformed tyrant Dionysius tells the famous friends, despite the happy ending, that 'the immortal gods above / Has made you play this tragedy, I think, for my behove'.[32]

To focus on the pattern rather than the generic label makes room, on the French side, for a number of self-described tragedies which, on their own providential terms, end 'merily' by vindicating the divine truth and power, albeit in sanguinary fashion. Certainly, the Protestant 'tragédies sainctes' of Louis Des Masures (a trilogy on the subject of David first published in 1563) would qualify.[33] But so would the two specimens of Catholic propaganda produced by François de Chantelouve – the tragedy of *Pharaon* (1577), which (in my reading) figures the Duke of Guise as a divinely inspired heathen-slaughtering Moses,[34] and his ferocious defence of the St Bartholomew's massacre as a divine deliverance from diabolical menace, *La tragédie de feu Gaspard de Colligny* (1575).[35] The latter's ending evokes a sense of wonder at the workings of providence that, allowing for a radical difference in theological and moral perspective, is not totally unlike that engendered by the conclusions of *Pericles* or *Cymbeline* – or, for that matter, of *Macbeth*: 'the time is free' (*Mac.*, V.ix.21).

Such overlap between the transcendental claims of certain tragic endings and the typical tragicomic passage from 'mournful' to 'merry' may usefully remind us that the concept of tragedy with a happy ending had theoretical standing, in both Italy and France, if seemingly not in England. Marrapodi cites the practice by Cinthio of a 'newly conceived Italian genre, *tragedie di fin lieto*'.[36] But the possibility of tragedy with a happy ending could be theoretically justified (if it was not always allowed) in readings of Aristotle,[37] and the concept certainly figured from the earliest days of French neo-Aristotelianism. One could hardly ignore the enormously influential poetics (pub. 1561 in Lyons) of Julius Caesar (or Jules César) Scaliger, to whom Sidney refers several times in the *Apology* (although not on this point): 'nam

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& Comœdiæ multæ infelices quibusdam fines habent. … nec minus lætæ Tragœdiæ non paucæ' (for even many comedies had unhappy endings for certain characters. … no less were there a good number of happy tragedies).[38] Indeed, in *L'art poétique*, Jean Vauquelin de La Fresnaye disallows the term 'tragicomedy' for dramatic works which include deaths but end happily for the principal characters; for him, these remain tragedies: 'Car on peu bien encor par vn succez heureux, / Finir la Tragedie en ebats amoureux' (For one may perfectly well, by a happy outcome, conclude the tragedy with the joys of love).[39] Regardless of the terminological problem, this principle, I suggest, is built into the French understanding of the tragicomic pattern.

In Elizabethan England, and certainly by Shakespeare's time, the dramatic treatment of religious subjects was more restricted than in France – where, however, Protestant theatre sharply diminished from the 1570s.[40] Still, the tragicomic patterning of French biblical drama resonates in a few cases on the other side of the channel. Thomas Garter's *The Most Virtuous and Godly Susanna* (pub. 1578), intended for travelling players ('Eight persons may easyly play it'), although entitled a 'Commody',[41] obviously fits the bill: the Prologue promises spectators that they will see 'How narrowly she scaped death because she would not sinne' before being saved by her 'assured trust' in God.[42] Even in the public theatre, Old Testament and apocryphal material, especially, maintained a place.[43] It seems a safe bet that *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was successfully played by the Admiral's Men in 1596–7, according to Philip Henslowe's *Diary*, traced a trajectory similar to that of its French precursor.[44]

Another such candidate for tragicomic status, although it makes no such claim (nor indeed carries a generic label in any edition), is the fascinating hybrid morality play by Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene, *A Looking Glass for London and England*. This sprawling work putatively dates from 1589–90, but was revived in 1592 (the year of a major plague outbreak), printed in 1594, then three times reissued, most lately in 1617 – that is, well into the English tragicomic heyday.[45] The mixture of deadly serious and comic elements, embellished with fantastic stage effects, fits the native tradition of romantic drama but applies a framework composed of biblical elements – the prophecies of Hosea ('Oseas') and Jonah – in service to the insistent moral injunction: turn from sin and repent, or suffer the destructive wrath of God. Several signs of the latter are displayed – including the thunderbolt-blasting of the incestuous queen of Nineveh (as in the Apollonius/Pericles story) – but penitence finally prevails, whereupon God proves merciful. Jonah's praise of the divine power ('Oh, who can tell the wonders of my God?') is remarkable indeed for the English public theatre of the period: not only is an 'Angel' employed to deliver the divine message but Jonah addresses this being directly

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as 'Jehovah' and 'God'.[46] One would very much like to have witnessed the staging.

Finally, in drawing a parallel between *Pericles* and the English miracle play tradition, F. D. Hoeniger noted the documented existence of an early play on the apocryphal legend of Tobias (or Tobit), which likewise spans two generations, as well as of another commissioned by Henslowe from Henry Chettle in 1602.[47] The partial French dramatisation of this story by Catherine Des Roches (pub. 1579), which Hoeniger also signals, is explicitly termed a 'tragicomedie' and preceded by an epistle (addressed to the author's mother, likewise a woman of letters), stressing the 'constance' of the virtuous and pious protagonists, which earns them the mercy of God and relief from their prolonged (and fantastic) tribulations.[48]

The dramatisation of Des Roches was adapted and completed by the Norman playwright Jacques Ovyn (or Ouyn) in a version published twice (once singly, once in an anthology) in 1606, two years after the third edition of the works of the ladies Des Roches, by the Rouen printer Raphaël Du Petit Val, a major producer of play-texts.[49] The play would thus have been particularly well diffused.[50] The generic label was retained and the trajectory reinforced:[51] the story moves from escape from tyrannical oppression across separations and distances to eventual reunion and fulfilment, which are greeted with grateful wonder, like that expressed by the Jonah of Lodge and Greene, at the divine power and mercy. The younger Thobie asks rhetorically whether strangers hearing of all these dangers and marvels could ever forget such a story:

> Pourront ils effacer ces faictes de leur memoire
> Non non à tousiours mais ô grand Dieu plain de gloire,
> Chacun vous benira, & moy en tous endrois
> Ie vous recognoistray souuerain Roy des Rois.

(Will they erase these events from their memory? No, no, never, but, O great God full of glory, each one shall bless you, and I shall everywhere acknowledge you as King of Kings).[52]

Very much as in Shakespeare's late plays, the past, with its tragic experiences, is not expunged but memorially incorporated into a future infused with a sense of marvellous fulfilment. Ovyn's work makes an especially remarkable instance of a *Pericles*-like dramatic romance freshly put into circulation virtually at the moment when the English play must have been in conception.

That ideas about narrative and dramatic romance circulated actively between England and France in the early seventeenth century is more specifically confirmed by several further French texts. It is telling that among

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the earliest demonstrable cases of French literary borrowings from English sources – at a period when knowledge of English was hardly widespread outside the British Isles – are translations of Greene's *Pandosto* and Sidney's *Arcadia*, as well as a 'spin-off' tragedy from the latter, *Phalante*, by Jean Galaut, almost certainly before it was translated.[53]

An otherwise unknown L. Regnault published a quite faithful version of *Pandosto* in 1615 (claiming that the English novel was itself a translation from 'Bohemian'); another freer adaptation (without acknowledgement of any original) was produced in 1626 by Louis Moreau Du Bail, the author of a number of romantic and pastoral novels.[54] Two dramatic adaptations are also on record. What was presumably the first, whose text has been lost, was by Alexandre Hardy, an especially prolific producer of tragicomedies, including a mammoth dramatisation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*.[55] The text does survive of a dramatic version of *Pandosto* by Jean Puget de la Serre (pub. 1631), which is based mainly on Regnault's translation but shows some influence of Du Bail's – and possibly, as I have suggested, of *The Winter's Tale*.[56]

As for the *Arcadia*, a novelty when it inspired Galaut before the turn of the century, it became the object of competing translations in the mid-1620s, one of them commissioned by the Queen Mother, Marie de Medici, who evidently sent Jean Beaudoin to England to learn the language for that purpose.[57] Its popularity was such as to induce Gauthier de Costes, seigneur de La Calprenède, to produce his own *Phalante* (based on Galaut's) in 1642. More significantly, a highly original and skilful adaptation, identified as a 'Tragi-Comedie' on the title page and in the dedicatory 'Epistre', was produced by André Mareschal in 1638 (pub. 1640) under the auspices of Cardinal Richelieu; the dedication, addressed to Sidney's nephew Robert, lavishes praise on the original work and its author, and the play appears to presume considerable knowledge of Sidney's romance on the part of its public.[58]

A further case in point, revealing in several respects, is the double dramatic adaptation made by Jean de Schélandre of *Les fantaisies amoureuses* (pub. 1601), an anonymous pastoral novel mingling verse and prose, tragic and comic love affairs, in the style of the *Arcadia* and its Italian forerunners. (There are passages adapted from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, as well as numerous traces of both classical and French poetic influences.[59]) Schélandre, from a Protestant family in the region of Verdun, and like Sidney a soldier who served against the Spanish in the Netherlands, first exploited this material to produce a tragedy in the baroque style, *Tyr et Sidon* (pub. 1608), which he dedicated to England's James I.[60] The English connection, then, which evidently involved more than one journey (about which little is known, however) existed before 1611, when Schélandre published his *Stuartide*, an unfinished epic of about one hundred

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and fifty quarto pages in honour of the royal dynasty, and presented it to James in person. A substantial body of criticism has postulated an English, even specifically Shakespearean, influence on Schélandre's drama, while I have argued that *La Stuartide* shows familiarity with *Macbeth* (necessarily through performance) and more tentatively noted points of contact with *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*.[61] It might have been first-hand knowledge, then, that prompted Schélandre to rewrite his tragedy (sometime before 1628) as a tragicomedy, flouting his previous generic choice and freely mixing tragic with comic elements.

That fact is, however, that such freedom was by no means alien to contemporary French tragicomedy.[62] Moreover, as the most recent editor of Schélandre's drama has pointed out, his rewriting follows the original narrative's grafting of a 'merveilleux' happy ending onto tragic events, while his concern also to supply a rational explanation for this outcome produces a double effect to the taste of French audiences.[63] The impossible proves to be possible after all. If such an effect also suggests Shakespeare's last plays – *The Winter's Tale*, in particular – it seems imprudent to make claims for specific influence. On the other hand, Schélandre's example confirms the broad overlap between the French and English tragicomic currents in the early seventeenth century.

The popularity of Honoré d'Urfé's vast pastoral novel *Astrée*, whose first part appeared in 1607, was an obvious factor in encouraging the persistence, spread and imitation of such material in France, onstage and off. At least in some cases, moreover – including the plays of Puget and Mareschal – political motives were doubtless at work.[64] But as the recuperation of Sidney and Greene itself demonstrates, the phenomenon developed on a pre-existing basis made up of diverse currents of influence – some of them Italian (or Italianate), certainly, but others derived directly or indirectly from the antique novel. And this basis was shared across the channel in ways that can be significant.

So I will be arguing in detail with respect to *Pericles*. But a pertinent prelude to such a discussion is the fact that a French dramatisation of that play's source story, the tale of Apollonius of Tyre, was produced no later than ten years after the English play. It was the work of Joachim Bernier de la Brousse (1580–1623) and was published in a 1618 collection of his poetic works, although there is no indication concerning performance or date of composition.[65] It is labelled a tragicomedy, and its title, 'the happy misfortunes', confirms the essential applicability of Florio's formula, or of 'tragédie à fin heureuse', together with the responsibility of Fortune for the characters' initial sufferings. Incidentally, the introductory address to the reader contains an interesting defence of the departure from the 'forme absoluë de la Tragedie' (strict form of tragedy), in that the extended length of the tale, 'rempli d'accidens esmerueillables' (filled with wonder-inspiring occurrences) as it is, has led him to divide it into two

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parts with an interval of fifteen years.[66] The insouciant handling of time in the romance tradition was evidently a sore point for neo-Aristotelians, as it had been for Sidney in the *Apology*, who complained about allowing babies to grow up to marriageable age.[67] It is a point, of course, for which Shakespeare makes his own decidedly backhanded apology, through the personage of Time, in *The Winter's Tale*.

Beyond this, the introductory affirmations of Bernier bear on the present argument because they inadvertently focus the question of sources in similar terms. Bernier claims that he based his dramatisation on an old manuscript of the *Gesta Romanorum*, where the story is related, and that he discovered the extensive narrative version of François de Belleforest (in volume seven of the *Histoires tragiques*, first published in 1582), whose elegance he admits he admires, only when his work was substantially completed. The claim is, I believe, demonstrably disingenuous: there are many details that recall Belleforest, rather than any known version of the *Gesta*. But more basically, while the story had acquired a heavy Christian overlay in the *Gesta* and its derivatives, Bernier followed Belleforest in (re)paganising it. So, too, I will be arguing, did Shakespeare and Wilkins.[68] Related to this transformation, moreover, is a natural enough but intriguing detail. At the point where Bernier's Apollonius is reunited with his daughter, he thanks the gods effusively.[69] There is a corresponding effusion in *Pericles*, which marks the transition from suffering to joy: 'O Helicanus, / Down on thy knees, thank the holy gods as loud / As thunder threatens us' (V.i.197–9). Yet there is no equivalent in Belleforest – or in any other analogue that I know. Likewise, the dialogue Bernier gives to the fisherman who rescues Apollonius (in all versions but *Pericles* there is only one) turns on the idea of saving him from death, as does the exchange in the English play: 'Die, keth 'a? Now gods forbid't, and I have a gown here!' (II.i.78–9). Generically speaking, potential tragedy is thus, as at other points in the story, conspicuously deflected by comic intervention (typically reinforced in the Shakespearean version by serio-comic jesting). The dialogue in Belleforest, as well as the *Gesta*-derived texts, is farther removed from the key issue. We may have to do, of course, with a simple coincidence of dramatic instinct and opportunity. But it is also just possible that, as Puget may have let his adaptation of Greene be swayed by *The Winter's Tale*, Bernier may have made the textual acquaintance of the English dramatic version before producing his own.

Pericles as *histoire tragicomique*

Any study of the sources and intertexts of *Pericles* must reckon, first and fundamentally, with the choric Gower, who embodies the most sustained literary

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allusion in the Shakespeare canon. Even as he arguably puts in place the Saint Play model,[70] he stakes an implicit claim to the exclusive textual paternity of the narrative in Book 8 of the late fourteenth-century *Confessio Amantis*. The claim, however, is conspicuously flawed from the start. Anyone having a nodding acquaintance with that text (most recently reprinted in 1554 by Thomas Berthelette) would have known that its protagonist was named Apollonius, as in every other prior version of the widely diffused romance.[71] Other more or less evident deviations follow, some of which would have oriented contemporaries (as they have scholars) towards the prose retelling by Laurence Twyne in *The patterne of painefull aduentures* (putatively first published in 1576, reissued in 1594 and 1607).[72] I propose that still others would have pointed to Belleforest's version, reprinted as recently as 1604, and in ways that are more fundamentally significant.[73] For they trace a palpable swerving from the medieval moral and religious context recalled by the standard sources towards an early modern – and Shakespearean – practice of tragicomedy.

It is easier to specify these effects when one recognises the convergence within the play-text, by way of the accepted sources, of several ancient narrative strands. The figure of Gower may privilege the *Confessio*'s version, but that version in itself entails significant inflections of the source story, whose origin may well be Greek and probably dates from the early Christian era, whether or not the treatment was originally pagan, as many scholars believe.[74] Some of these inflections mark the English poet's own contribution;[75] others stem from the influential redaction of the *Gesta Romanorum* produced perhaps a hundred years earlier. That is the version Twyne adapted, with little outright deviation – but with increased insistence on Christian piety and providence.[76] Thus the points on which the play follows Twyne, especially in developing Marina's tribulations, supplement the *Confessio* from a still earlier but fundamentally compatible source.[77] It is against this composite but coherently 'ancient' background that several features of *Pericles* stand out as intersecting distinctively with Belleforest. The latter's innovations are arguably related to a double project of updating the style, narrative technique and ideology associated with the venerable romance and of fitting it formally into the mould of the *histoire tragique*, given that the tale is not tragic in the generally accepted sense of the term.[78]

A brief view of that narrative genre along the French-English axis may be useful here. By the early 1600s, English dramatists, including Shakespeare, had been making liberal use for some time of the *Histoires tragiques* in wide European circulation. Of course, the form was recognisably Italian in origin, and English translations directly from that language were sporadically available – notably, a minority of the stories in William Painter's *The Palace*

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of Pleasure (1566–7, 1575) – but its diffusion, development and proliferation came predominantly by way of France, as was freely acknowledged by English adapters.[79] Even Matteo Bandello, Italian by birth and language, had become (by virtue of his long years as Bishop of Agen, where he died in 1561) at least the honorary countryman of Belleforest, as the latter was well aware. (Belleforest invariably identified himself on his title pages as 'Commingeois' – from the former province that included Agen.) As early as 1559, Belleforest had taken up the project, initiated by Pierre Boaistuau (1500–66), of translating, freely adapting and supplementing Bandello; the genre proved central to his practice and self-image as a professional author over thirty years: he devoted himself at once 'à la poétique et à la morale qui l'informent' (to the poetics and the moral orientation that informed it).[80] He was as prolific as he was skilful, his production running to some one hundred and twenty tales, depending on how one counts (the counting is not facilitated by the shifting numbers assigned in the various editions).

As for Shakespeare's use of Belleforest's *Histoires tragiques* elsewhere, the frequent references in scholarly indexes and introductions as often as not record uncertainty, given alternative sources; the jury remains out – unnecessarily, in my view – even on the question of whether Shakespeare had recourse to Belleforest's treatment of the story of *Hamlet* (from volume five) in reworking the prior English tragedy known to have existed.[81] I have elsewhere proposed extending the intertextual range of reference for both *Hamlet* and *King Lear* to another *histoire tragique* from the same volume.[82] Given what I think can be demonstrated about Shakespeare's familiarity with French popular literature, there is no reason to suppose that his reading of the *Histoires tragiques* would have been limited to a single story. In the present case, moreover, there is another possible factor. As it happens, George Wilkins, whose long-standing candidacy as collaborator has recently gained impressive momentum, was also friendly with the French family with whom Shakespeare lodged – the Mountjoys; the latest Oxford editor, Roger Warren, highlights this connection and conjectures that Wilkins might not only have conceived the project but also thereby 'provided Shakespeare with a stimulus for all his late work'.[83] The association of both authors with the Mountjoys might just have extended to their reading habits, and there is no reason why the *Histoires tragiques* should not have circulated as widely among French expatriates in London as they did in France.

In any case, the collaborative mechanisms of authorship, or even of generic innovation, do not concern me here, while no serious doubt exists as to Shakespeare's major involvement. So, on the grounds of convenience, I will usually employ his name alone, and I will begin from the premise that

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when the story of Apollonius attracted dramatisation, perhaps as early as 1606 (the Quarto dates from 1609),[84] Shakespeare might well have been aware of Belleforest's version as newly republished. In a sense, discovering, or rediscovering, the venerable story in Belleforest would have done nothing to render it essentially less ancient – 'mouldy', according to Ben Jonson's rancorous dismissal in 1623.[85] On the other hand, innovative elements in the narrative might just have supplied some hints as to how to capitalise on that very quality for the mixed audience of the King's Men and the new dramatic tastes of the times.

The publication history of all seven volumes of the vastly popular *Histoires tragiques* of Belleforest is dauntingly complex, given their (sometimes unauthorised) reissue in various forms.[86] Obviously, Shakespeare might have encountered Belleforest's story of 'Apollonie' (also spelled 'Apolonie') in an earlier edition, and indeed there are reasons to think so. The first reason, which leaves Wilkins out of the picture, is also out of place here, although I have developed the idea elsewhere: it involves the possibility that the presentation of the Nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* was coloured by that of Belleforest's 'dame d'honneur', who wickedly incites the Princess of Antioch to comply with her father's lust.[87] This makes it to the point that the seventh volume of the *Histoires tragique* had been reissued in 1595, the putative date of that play, after a gap of twelve years. Moreover, the impressive number of surviving copies of the 1595 edition suggests an especially large press run and wide diffusion.[88]

It may also be pertinent that the 1595 reissue, unlike that of 1604, contained Belleforest's original 1582 dedication to the Duke of Épernon, Henri III's controversial 'mignon'. Belleforest was apparently in remission from his final illness when he prepared the final volume of his most significant life's work, and, feeling the weight of more than his fifty-two years, he frankly couched his request for patronage as a matter of hoping to 'sentir vn soulagement en sa vieillesse' (feel some comfort in his old age).[89] It is with corresponding urgency that he insists on his high moral purpose – and does so in terms that implicitly recant his previous generic practice: 'afin de destourner la ieunesse des folies d'amour, cause de ces actions tragiques' (in order to deter young people from the follies of love, the cause of these tragic occurrences).[90] He complains that many readers have responded lasciviously to his previous volumes; the current one will in effect put the genre back on the moral rails and justify the subtitle's promise of 'diuers succes d'affaires, & euenements, qui seruent à l'instruction de nostre vie' (various narratives of actions and events which may serve as instruction in our lives)[91] – a claim that the inclusion of the Apollonius story seems intended to bolster.

This collection, then, aims to be straightforwardly and nobly uplifting, 'genereux sans nul fard, & mignotise [*sic*, for "mignardise"], plein de saincts

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enseignemens, & tel que doiuent estre les escrits de celuy qui fait profession du sainct Christianisme' (noble, without any painted colours or affected manners, full of holy teachings, and such as should be the writings of one who professes holy Christianity).[92] The mixture of humility and self-righteousness continues, as Belleforest plaintively boasts of the European fame he now enjoys – again, he stresses his age – and insists that what he has accomplished was undertaken, not for reward, but for the adornment of the French language, the pleasure of the nobility and the service of kings.[93] All in all, this dedicatory self-portrait sets in place a narrator multiply akin to the Gower of *Pericles*, who invokes his own version of (post-)death-bed authority to proclaim a synthesis of entertainment and edification fit for the nobility:

> To sing a song that old was sung,
> From ashes ancient Gower is come,
> To glad your ear and please your eyes.
> It hath been sung at festivals,
> On ember-eves and holy-ales;
> And lords and ladies in their lives
> Have read it for restoratives.
> The purchase is to make men glorious,
> *Et bonum quo antiquius eo melius*.
> (*Per.*, I.Cho.1–9)

There is, moreover, a sustained resemblance between the play's Gower and Belleforest as narrator of the Apollonius story that does not depend on the original dedication – or, therefore, on any specific edition. The activist persona assumed by Belleforest sufficiently overlaps with the play's Chorus in tone, attitude and interventionist style to suggest that he played a part in bringing the medieval poet to garrulous early modern stage-life. These are not features found in other redactions of the Apollonius story – or, for that matter, in other derivatives from the Hellenistic romances, in which narrators are generally self-effacing. Paradoxically, however, these points tend to confirm *Pericles* as a significant landmark at the moment when Shakespeare's œuvre reconverged with the romance tradition.

The narrative framework provided by Belleforest for the tale, kept in place by multiple 'intrusions' into the fiction, works as hard as Shakespeare's Gower does – and for this the *Confessio Amantis* offers no precedent whatever – to present the story's ancientness as both a virtue in itself and an excuse for defects in both content and style. And Belleforest risks rendering his narrative persona similarly ridiculous; both narrators are unsteadily balanced between their venerable material, with which their age and authorial status

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give them an affinity, and contemporary tastes with which they claim to be out of joint.

The effect begins, for a reader at all knowledgeable, with Belleforest's claim to be transmitting a story he happened upon in 'vne histoire tiree du Grec & icelle ancienne, comme aussi ie l'ay recueillie d'vn vieux liure écrit à la main' (a story taken from Greek, and an ancient one, as, moreover, I have collected it from an old book written by hand).[94] The Greek, we will be further informed at the conclusion, is that of Apollonius himself, who considerately left his memoirs to posterity. That fiction is standard in the *Gesta* derivatives, including that of Twyne. It is even echoed, as has been seen, by Bernier de la Brousse in obfuscating his debt to Belleforest. But whereas Twyne adds that he has had to work from a bare abstract and promises, given access to the full manuscript, to retell the story more extensively,[95] Belleforest's narrator, at both the beginning and the end, is on the defensive about imitating this ancient style, which is both unfashionably plain and excessively discursive:

> vous plaira excuser l'auteur, s'il astraint au stile du Grec, et s'il imite sa longueur.
>
> (you will be pleased to excuse the author, if he has compelled himself to follow the style of the Greek, and if he reproduces its length.);[96]

and again:

> le stile … suiuant presque mot à mot le liseur m'excusera, & de ce que i'ay esté vn peu trop long, & du peu de grace, ornement & gentillesse de langage que i'ay pratiqué en cette histoire, m'ayant suffit de la vous raconter nuement, & sans nul fard, & couleur.
>
> (the reader will excuse me for following the style almost word for word, and for being a bit too long, and for the little grace, ornament and courtliness of language which I practised in this story, having contented myself with telling it to you straightforwardly, and with no adornment and rhetorical flourishes.)[97]

Belleforest concludes by promising his patient readers compensation in the form of the succinct love story which will follow in the volume; this, he is certain, will better match the tastes of the present time:

> Laissons donc ses discours de telle longueur, & fascheuse haleine, ie pense que l'histoire suyuante vous allegera de ce trauail & auec sa briéueté, & auec le plaisir de la chose qui y est traitée, & pour en estre le succez plus moderne, & passé entre nos voisins, & en matiere plausible telle que l'amour, & fruits que recueillent ceux qui vont s'égayer par les iardins de Venus, & sont guidez par le flambeau du fils de la Cytheree.

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> (Let us therefore leave his discourses of such length, and so long-winded; I think that the next story will relieve you of such effort, at once with its brevity and the pleasure of the subject dealt with, and also because of its more modern train of events, for having taken place among our neighbours, and concerning such a worthy subject as love, and the fruits gathered by those who go wandering by the gardens of Venus and are guided by the torch of the son of Cytheraea.[98]

Typically, for Belleforest, the billing is erotically suggestive, while the subsequent story itself (no. 119), 'Plaisants & loyales amours de Camille & Emilia Aretins' (The agreeable and faithful loves of …),[99] although quite innocent, is preceded by a cautionary blast against the pleasures of the flesh, which, in classic fashion, are said to proceed along a sensual chain: 'l'oreille, & l'œil sont les premiers qui se laissent abuser' (the ear and the eye are the first to let themselves be abused).[100]

I will be returning to the sometimes uneasy blend of moralism and eroticism with which Belleforest infuses his material, because it bears on the function of the erotic in the Hellenistic romances as well as in Shakespearean tragicomedy. My immediate point is that his narrative tone and attitude, mingling didacticism with self-deprecating deference, multiply anticipate the choric Gower, as the latter sets out 'To glad your ear and please your eyes' in an edifying manner. He likewise excuses his naive style, ill-suited to an audience 'born in those latter times, / When wit's more ripe' (*Per.*, I.Cho.11–12); he appeals for indulgence on the grounds of following authority ('I tell you what mine authors say' (201)); and, if we understand such a reference in the Quarto's 'long's' (which editors usually make either ''longs' or 'longs'), he regrets his prolixity: 'Pardon old Gower – this long's the text' (II.Cho.40). As for the idea that ancientness lends weight and value of its own, it is taken with a grain of salt by both narrators. Given his own age, if nothing else, Gower is winking at the audience when he invokes the proverb, '*Et bonum quo antiquius, eo melius*' (I.Cho.11);[101] Belleforest does likewise in offering, in the guise of memoirs,

> vne histoire, il ne la vous asseure si vraye que vous soyez obligez à y aiouster foy, mais qui estant ancienne, peut auoir quelque cas de vray, & du succez.
>
> (a tale which he will not assure you is so true that you are obliged to believe it, but which, being ancient, may have some true circumstance in it and prove pleasing.)[102]

But Belleforest's management of his narrative draws his tale closer to *Pericles* in more fundamental ways. He actually applies the label of tragicomedy – and pointedly evokes theatricality in general – from the outset. The introduction

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of Apollonie is performed in a choric fashion not at all remote from *Pericles*: 'Apolonie Tyrien, qui est celuy que nous introduisons pour ioüer vne Tragique comedie en ce Theatre' (Apollonie the Tyrian, who it is we introduce to play a tragicomedy in this theatre).[103] And there is no doubt that, for him, the tragic elements do not stop short of 'such kinde of trouble as no life be questioned' (to cite Fletcher again). On the contrary, to judge from the four-line heading that follows Belleforest's four-page introductory 'Sommaire', he might as well be outlining a 'tragédie à fin heureuse': 'Accidens diuers aduenus à Apollonie Roy des Tyriens: ses malheurs sur mer, ses pertes de femme, & fille, & la fin heureuse de tous ensemble' (Various accidents occurring to Apollonius King of the Tyrians: his sufferings at sea, his losses of wife and daughter, and the happy end of all together).[104] The formal generic label is reiterated at the suspenseful moment when Tharsie is about to be rescued from the 'mal nommé' (ill-named) Theophile, though only by 'des bestes autant ou plus farouches' (beasts as ferocious – or more): 'Ici se representent les assauts, les hazards, & les perils de toute ceste Tragicomedie' (In this are represented the assaults, the hazards, and the dangers of this entire tragicomedy).[105]

The theatricalising effect of such narrative commentary shares essential common ground with the mediation of Shakespeare's Gower, including the rhythm of presentation and self-effacement. On the one hand, the narrator, like the Chorus, regularly steps forward to mediate the spectacle, as when Apollonius finds respite in grateful Tharsus: 'Voyez icy Apolonie au milieu de son desastre: iouyr de tout aise, aymé & honoré de chacun' (Here see Apollonie in the midst of his misfortune profiting from every comfort, loved and honoured by everyone).[106] So Gower evokes the hero's moment of glory: 'each man / Thinks all is writ he speken can; / And, to remember what he does, / Build his statue to make him glorious' (*Per.*, II.Cho.11–14). But as the Dumb Show puts the Chorus to silence – 'But tidings to the contrary / Are brought your eyes; what need speak I?' (15–16) – so in Belleforest the distinctive voice of the narrator yields to the primacy of narrative momentum, telling to showing. The effacement of mediation implied in 'se representent' is signalled at most of the play's moments of transition from Chorus to spectacle: 'what ensues … / Shall for itself itself perform' (*Per.*, III.Cho.53–4); 'Dionyza does appear / With Leonine, a murtherer' (IV.Cho.51–2); 'what is done in action … / Shall be discover'd' (V.Cho.23–4). This is, in itself, standard choric procedure – from *Henry V* to (with special relevance, given Wilkins's part-authorship) *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*.[107] But its location in a distinctive authorial persona transmitting and transmuting an ancient narrative (not simply presenting a history, as in *The Devil's Charter* by Barnabe Barnes) remains a specific link between *Pericles* and Belleforest.

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And that persona in both cases serves as mediator and guarantor of a profoundly mixed form – its guarantor, paradoxically, by his very disclaimers of authority, his insistence that the terms of the fictional universe are not his own: his interventions allow all but infinite scope to tragic experience and intermingle their assurance of a reversal of fortunes with a sustained reminder that the clock cannot be turned back.

On one level, the excuses that Belleforest offers for his prolix and old-fashioned tale, and which the Gower of *Pericles* virtually echoes, are pragmatic: the broad intended readership of the *Histoires tragiques* is indeed asked to make its way through an unusually long narrative (almost a hundred pages, albeit in sextodecimo). Belleforest proffers the attraction of episodic variety (likewise the strategy of the play), but he also bolsters his case with snob appeal and a claim to universality. On the one hand, he is discharging his duty by offering 'à nostre noblesse' (to our nobility)[108] the adventures of a noble prince. On the other hand, those adventures will show that 'les Rois & grands Seigneurs' (kings and great lords) may be at least as subject to vicissitudes as 'les plus petits d'entre le peuple' (the slightest of the common people).[109] Apollonius' story, moreover, is as fully deserving of attention as that of Theagenes and Chariclea, 'qui a tant esté caressee par la noblesse Françoise' (which has been so adored by the nobility of France)[110] – that is, the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus, as translated (at far greater length) by the very well-connected Jacques Amyot (1547) and frequently reprinted.[111] The purported social reach of Belleforest pointedly extends, then, like that of Gower, to 'lords and ladies'.

The allusion also has a generic dimension. In Amyot's *Aethiopica*, Belleforest had before him the outstanding case of a Greek romance conceived and presented, through the regular deployment of dramatic metaphors, 'as a series of theatrical spectacles arranged by superhuman agency'.[112] The theatricality of his treatment of Apollonius follows suit. I will pursue this point below, but it is worth establishing here that the *Aethiopica*'s culminating spectacle, with its multiple reunions and restorations, is couched in terms highly pertinent to the genre as Belleforest – and Shakespeare – adapted it:

> Et paradventure que c'estoit vne certaine inspiration de la diuinité, laquelle auoit ordonné & conduit ces miraculeuses auentures, qui leur reueloit insensiblement & leur donnoit intelligence de toute la verité. Et ne peut autrement estre, que ce ne fust vne diuine puissance, qui accordast ainsi ensemble des choses si contraires de nature, ne qui liast en vn, ioye & douleur, qui meslast ris & larmes l'vn parmi l'autre, qui tournast la tristesse de mort en resiouissance de feste & de nopces, ni qui fist que chacun ensemble rist & pleurast, s'esiouist & lamentast, trouuast ceux qu'il pensoit auoir perduz, & perdist ceux qu'il cuidoit auoir trouuez.

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> (And perhaps it was a certain inspiration of the divinity who had arranged and managed these miraculous adventures that insensibly revealed and made them aware of the entire truth. And it could not be otherwise but that a divine power so reconciled harmoniously things so contrary in nature, and united joy and sorrow in one, who mingled laughter and tears one with the other, who transformed the sadness of death into the rejoicing of festivity and marriage, and brought it about that each at once laughed and wept, felt pleasure and lamented, found those he thought he had lost, and lost those he supposed he had found.)[113]

The English version of Thomas Underdowne (first pub. 1569(?), latest re-editions 1605, 1606), who was translating from a different (Latin) original, supplies an explicit dramatic comparison:

> Perhappes also they were styrred to understand the truth by inspiration of the Gods, whose will it was that this shoulde fall out wonderfully, as in a Comedy. Surely they made verie contrarie things agree, and ioyned sorrow and mirth, teares and laughter together, and turned fearefull, and terrible thinges into a ioyfull banquette in the end, many that weapt beganne to laugh, and suche as were sorowefull to reioyce, when they founde that they soughte not for, and loste that they hoped to finde.[114]

The term employed may be 'Comedy', but the co-presence and interpenetration of joy and sorrow, finding and losing – as well as the keynote of 'wonder' – point to the integration of tragic experience, even if the fundamental opposing generic poles of death and marriage are absent from Underdowne's text. In any case, whether in the French translation from Greek, or the English from Latin, the anticipation of Gonzalo's commentary on the revelation of truth in *The Tempest* is strong indeed.

It is hardly surprising that the promise of pleasure offered by the Gower of *Pericles* comes attached, as in Belleforest, to the assurance of instruction, but both presenters consistently balance the two elements in a similar way.[115] Despite the general elusiveness of moral lessons in the Apollonius stories,[116] the gist is clear enough in both versions, as indeed in Gower and Twyne: the power of patience and virtue to triumph over Fortune – at least in the (exceedingly) long term, and with a helping hand from divinity.[117] To this extent, the correspondence is exact with the moral attached by Catherine Des Roches to her tragicomedy of *Tobie* (her key term is 'constance').[118] But 'constance', or 'patience', is by definition a passive quality; 'virtue' may be as well, although the term in Shakespearean usage commonly carries connotations of active force or energy – a point I will return to. More generally, what is missing from this picture, and what the Greek romance tradition abundantly supplies – a

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point exploited by both Belleforest and Shakespeare – is the motive power of human desire in various forms as the mainspring of the action, the mechanism that engages divinity.[119] It does so, inevitably, for better or worse, according to its compatibility with virtue: hence the premium placed on, and reward assigned to, chaste love.

As for divinity itself, the adaptations of Belleforest and Shakespeare together mark a distinct bifurcation in the tradition – and a departure from biblical tragicomedy: they stand out for repaganising the Christian metaphysics. Belleforest's 'saincts enseignements' here, then, are remarkably short on conventional sanctity. And since the gods are hardly to be taken at face value, their role becomes frankly symbolic, with human actions, reactions and responsibility thrown into relief. No version of Apollonius can do without the temple of Diana at Ephesus, but in Twyne, as in the *Gesta* and the *Historia* before it, the hero is directed there by an angel to find his happiness, and Twyne presents the sequel in strongly religious terms.[120] Gower cuts out the intermediary and opts simply for intervention by 'The highe god, which wolde him keep'.[121] In *The Comedy of Errors*, Shakespeare had actually accentuated the Christian baggage of the Apollonius story, staging the concluding reunion in Ephesus but making the lost wife Aemilia the Abbess – also the term used in the *Confessio Amantis* – of an unspecified holy order. Diana is never mentioned. The dynamic of the universe of *Pericles*, as of Belleforest's narrative, precludes such treatment.

In this context, the appearance of the goddess herself seems a natural invention, but it, too, carries intertextual baggage, and of a telling kind. The late Greek romance of *Clitophon and Leucippe*, by Achilles Tatius, whose protagonist is also from Tyre, contains many typical plot elements reminiscent of the Apollonius story, including a heroine supposed dead and sold by pirates. It concludes with a parallel reunion in Diana's Ephesian temple, at once of the separated eponymous lovers and of Leucippe's father, Sosthenes, with his lost daughter. In that case, Diana appears to Sosthenes in a dream to direct him to Ephesis and promises that he will find a daughter and son-in-law there. It matches Diana's importance that a great deal is made of the daughter's virginity – an essential dimension also, of course, in the case of Marina.

Access to *Clitophon and Leucippe* would hardly have posed a problem for an English dramatist (or dramatists). The 1554 Latin translation of Luigi Annibale della Croce (Croceius) had been republished in Cambridge, probably in 1589; an English translation by William Burton appeared in 1597.[122] But by then a translation into French, this by Belleforest himself, had been several times reprinted, which in fact comes closest to *Pericles* on the key point. The appearance of Diana is there explicitly mentioned twice as such (not just once, as in Burton), the second time when Clitophon recounts that Leucippe's father (here

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Sostrate) recognised him more readily, 'se souuenant de sa vision, & promesse de Diane qu'il me recouueroit en Ephese' (recalling his vision, and the promise of Diane that he would find me again at Ephesus).[123] The word 'vision' is also used for Twyne's angel,[124] but it is here that one finds it associated with Diana, as in *Pericles*: 'Pure Dian, / I bless thee for thy vision' (*Per.*, V.iii.68–9).

Belleforest had already subjectivised Apollonie's vision, detaching it from Christian authority and making it contingent on interpretation: the dreaming Apollonie sees 'vne personne qui representoit vne grande maiesté, & qu'il estimoit estre vn genie' (a person who showed forth a great majesty, and whom he judged a supernatural being); his response reflects at once his learning and his openness to spiritual experience, for he is both 'de grand sçauoir, & superstitieux en cet endroit' (of great knowledge and superstitious in that regard).[125] In effect, the human must rise to the divine occasion, meeting the test of faith, as a condition of contentment: Diana tells Pericles, 'Do't, and happy' (*Per.*, V.i.248); Apollonie is promised that he 'seroit là allegé de tous ses trauaux' (he would there be relieved of all his sufferings).[126] Pericles accepts the divinity's 'just command' (V.iii.1): 'Celestial Dian, goddess argentine, / I will obey thee' (250–1); Apollonie is 'resolu d'obeir au Dieu, ainsi le croyoit il, qui luy auoit donné cet aduertissement' (resolved to obey the god, as he believed, who had given him this instruction).[127]

Belleforest uniquely anticipates Shakespeare in insisting on the role of knowledge ('savoir'), in combination with key virtues, as the key to Apollonius' redemption. The choric Gower furnishes an apt résumé in these terms; the audience, he states, has:

> In Pericles, his queen and daughter, seen,
> Although assail'd with fortune fierce and keen,
> Virtue preserv'd from fell destruction's blast,
> Led on by heaven, and crown'd with joy at last.
> In Hellicanus may you well descry
> A figure of truth, of faith, of loyalty.
> In reverend Cerimon there well appears
> The worth that learned charity aye wears.
> (*Per.*, V.iii.87–94)

The reference to Cerimon, whose skill personally (as in the *Confessio* but not in most redactions) restores Thaisa to life, harks back to the physician's first appearance:

> I hold it ever
> Virtue and cunning were endowments greater
> Than nobleness and riches. Careless heirs

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> May the two latter darken and expend,
> But immortality attends the former,
> Making a man a god.
> (III.ii.26–31)[128]

Belleforest offers his readers a similar formula for true nobility (with the overlay of a social context), and his expression of it overlaps distinctively:

> nous proposerons les ieux de la fortune sur vn Prince genereux & sur toute sa maison, le succez de ses desastres, *l'effet du sçavoir, & de la vertu, & combien la compagnie de ces deux choses ennoblit*, rend agreable & suporte l'homme quelque part qu'il aille, & deuant les plus estranges peuples de la terre.
>
> (we shall present the games played by fortune with a valiant Prince and all his house, the succession of his misfortunes, *the effect of knowledge and virtue, and how the company of these two qualities ennobles* a man, renders him sociable and upholds him wherever he may go and before the most remote peoples of the earth.)[129]

The formula is also the basis of the true love that admits desire but keeps it virtuous, as Apollonie's wife (here called Archestrate) confirms in the temple of Diana, when she recognises her husband and former music master:[130]

> ie suis vostre Archestrate, Monseigneur, ie suis vostre disciple, fille vnique du bon Roy de Cyrene: c'est moy qui vous recueilly en la maison de mon pere, & qui fis tant, *amoureuse de vostre sçauoir & vertu,* que le Roy monseigneur choisit sur tout autre pour l'époux de sa fille, & pour le successeur de sa couronne.
>
> (I am your Archestrate, my Lord; I am your pupil, the only daughter of the good King of Cyrene: it is I who received you in the house of my father, and who so behaved, *being in love with your knowledge and virtue*, that the king chose my lord above all others to be the husband of his daughter and the successor to his crown.)[131]

Thus Belleforest transforms and exalts what in most versions (though not Gower's, where there is no equivalent) amounts to a simple moral disclaimer: 'non causa libidinis, sed sapientiae ducta' (not induced by sexual desire but for the sake of knowledge);[132] 'not for concupiscence sake, but for desire of wisedome'.[133]

An especially suggestive variant on the 'virtue and cunning' formula is found in Belleforest but apparently not elsewhere. Although Apollonie is initially labelled as 'autant vertueux que sçauant' (as virtuous as learned),[134] his determination to gain the princess of Antioch flirts with serious vices – not only the blind desire of youth but rivalrous pride. So Belleforest takes pains to

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establish quite independently of the incest, which has been mentioned but not yet recounted:

> Lequel ayant ouy parler de l'extrême beauté de la fille du Roy Antiochus, & de la grande pursuitte que plusieurs faisoient pour l'auoir en mariage en deuint extremément amoureux: & comme il fut en la premiere ardeur de son adolescence, il ne pensoit aussi qu'aux moyens de paruenir à la iouyssance de chose si rare, sans aduiser au peril qui s'offroit par trop euident à ceux qui aspiroient aux nopces de ceste belle Princesse, & lequel danger procedoit de l'occasion que ie vous vay descrire.
>
> (He, having heard tell of the extreme beauty of the daughter of King Antiochus, and of the great endeavour that many undertook to have her in marriage, fell strongly in love with her; and since he was in the first burning of his adolescence, he also thought only of the means of arriving at the enjoyment of such a rare object, without considering the peril, all too apparent, presented to those who aspired to the hand of that beautiful princess, and what danger followed from the circumstance that I will recount to you.)[135]

It therefore stands out that this 'adolescent' arrives at Antioch 'se fiant en son grand sçauoir & subtilité' (trusting in his great knowledge and subtlety),[136] virtue having temporarily dropped out of the picture.

Given Belleforest's attention to moral nuance, his variant may serve to address a question that has puzzled commentators on *Pericles* – at least to the extent that the hero's encounter with incest is taken to signify beyond the taint of taboo or the force of folklore: how might the hero reasonably be deemed deficient when he courts Antiochus' daughter, hence in need of the painful schooling in life and love that he superabundantly receives?[137] Undoubtedly, the incest motif is central to the Apollonius tradition in general,[138] and Belleforest makes the most of it in typically moralistic yet sensational terms. Still his 'modernisation' of the tale breaks with the mythical potency of taboo and substitutes 'folies d'amour' of a more down-to-earth kind. His passion-driven Apollonie entraps himself precisely by limiting his wisdom to 'subtilité' – the solving of a riddle whose interpretation, as Belleforest sardonically comments (using a clever comparison), was 'si manifeste, qu'il n'y falloit point autre Oedipus pour l'esclarcir' (so obvious that another Oedipus was hardly needed to elucidate it).[139] (Indeed, we are told, Antiochus may have concealed the fact that previous victims had also found out the truth.[140]) Apollonie is clearly on a course for disillusioning discovery, even if he will finally, in both senses, keep his head.

It is a similarly ambiguous presentation of the hero that offers the opportunity actively seized by *Pericles* of reintegrating the mythical potency of the

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incest motif by way of the paradigm of the Fall, for, from Coverdale's Bible on (1535), 'subtlety' was notoriously the hallmark of the serpent of Genesis (3:1).[141] So connoted, the term might seem better suited to Antiochus' sinister riddling, as indeed in the teasing reminiscence of that tyrant when Simonides prepares to surprise Pericles with the gift of his daughter: '"Tis the king's subtilty [*sic*] to have my life' (II.v.44). In Belleforest, the point rather seems to be that Apollonie thinks it sufficient to beat the tyrant at his own riddling game, and the author may have recalled that in one of the French derivatives from the *Gesta*, Antiochus 'proposa une subtille question et problème' (proposed a subtle question and problem).[142] What Belleforest's variant of his own formula particularly implies is the need to put 'vertu' in the place of 'subtilité'.

In developing this point, Belleforest may have been taking his cue from one branch of the manuscript tradition, as reflected, for instance, in the version published by Marcus (i.e. Markward) Welser in Augsburg in 1595 – in effect, the first scholarly edition – where Apollonius is described as 'fidens abundantia litterarum' (trusting in his great knowledge of letters).[143] Still, Belleforest's innovation stands out against the broad background of the older analogues. These generally mention Apollonius' learning with approval, presenting him as 'bene litteratus' (well schooled) and replete with 'scientiam' (knowledge)[144] – hence, one especially chivalric portrait: 'jeune, noble, sage, constant et bien literé' (young, noble, wise, constant and well lettered).[145] This is the line that Twyne follows in introducing the hero as 'abounding in wealth, and very well learned'; moreover, the Elizabethan adapter maintains that Apollonius 'found out the solution … through the help of God'[146] – an affirmation, stemming from the *Gesta*'s 'deo fauente' (God being favourable),[147] that hardly conditions the reader to expect chastisement.

As for the play's declared model, the *Confessio Amantis* makes Apollonius the epitome of a worthy courtly lover, although his sensuality and the fragility of his knowledge are both hinted at:

> … it befell upon a day
> Appolinus the Prince of Tyr
> Which hath to love a gret desir,
> As he which in his hihe mod
> Was likende of his hote blod,
> A yong, a freissh, a lusti knyht …
> …
> Of every naturel science,
> Which eny clerk him couthe teche,
> He couthe ynowh, and in his speche
> Of wordes he was eloquent.[148]

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Certainly, the hint of limitation is not developed, and Gower's conclusion reimposes a firm distinction between 'Antiochus with al his Pride, / Which sette his love unkindely', and the meritorious purity of Appolinus' intentions: 'For he hath ferst his love founded / Honesteliche as forto wedde'.[149]

The play's terms, by contrast, as appears more clearly in light of the *histoire tragique*, are those of a brash young prince dazzled by specious beauty, 'As heaven had lent her all his grace' (*Per.*, I.Cho.24), self-assured to the point of defying mortality itself – 'Think death no hazard in this enterprise' (I.i.5) – and *knowing* its limits less profoundly than he claims: 'Antiochus, I thank thee, who hath taught / My frail mortality to know itself' (41–2). As Pericles approaches the 'golden fruit … dangerous to be touch'd' and guarded by 'death-like dragons' (28, 29), his language ominously implicates him in the dynamic of seduction by evil set in motion by father and daughter:

> You gods that made me man, and sway in love,
> That have inflam'd desire in my breast
> To taste the fruit of yon celestial tree
> (Or die in th' adventure), be my helps,
> As I am son and servant to your will,
> To compass such a boundless happiness!
> (19–24)

In making the gods responsible for his desire, even as he unwittingly evokes the Christian Fall, Pericles problematically echoes the argument with which the princess's nurse in Belleforest, 'Megere infernale' (the hellish fury), attempts to justify the incestuous impulses of the tyrant: 'Et que sçavez-vous, Madame, si les Dieux tiennent la main à ceci, & ont induit vostre pere à cest amour …?' (And how do you know, Madam, that the gods are not guiding this, and have not incited your father to this love …?).[150] But there is more direct irony at the expense of Pericles' naïveté, thanks to vocabulary that, with regard to the Antioch episode, the play shares only with Belleforest ('hazard', 'grace', 'adventure'):

> Quelque perilleuse & inique que sçeust estre ceste auanture, si est ce que la beauté, & grace de la Princesse estoit si grande, & excellente, que plusieurs grands Princes & Seigneurs hazardans leur vie, alloient la requerir: … voicy que le Prince Tyrien Apollonie … vint vers le Roy … pour auoir son malheur en mariage.
>
> (However perilous and iniquitous that adventure might have been, so it was that the beauty and grace of the princess were so great and outstanding that many grand princes and lords, hazarding their lives, went to ask for her: … and

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> so now the prince of Tyre Apollonie … came to the king … to obtain his unhappiness in marriage.)[151]

The irony culminates, then, in the revelation that the goal of the young man's marital quest, tricked out as 'boundless happiness', entails its precise contrary. And when the scales fall from his eyes, the fall into better knowledge is signalled in both texts – uniquely – by way of the same proverbial political wisdom. Pericles already knows better when he muses, back in Tyre, that Antiochus' 'arm seems far too short to hit me here' (*Per.*, I.ii.8); Belleforest's Apollonie is in no doubt: 'n'ignorait pas combien sont longues les mains des Roys' (he was not ignorant how far kings' hands can reach).[152]

Belleforest's concern with the moral trajectory of his sensational material is reflected in regular interventions, not just as master of ceremonies, but as commentator. At such points he is capable of smoothly assuming a posture of piety; for instance, the name (Theophile) of the would-be murderer of Apollonie's daughter provokes a parenthetical remark on the prevalence 'de nostre temps' (in our time) of those who likewise pretend to love God but who are in fact his enemies.[153] (An anti-Huguenot barb is surely apparent, given Belleforest's practice and politics elsewhere.) Intrusions of this type, however, finally amount to local gestures – a low-key counterpoint to the main narrative strategy. That strategy capitalises on the freedom offered by the pagan setting by furnishing a maximum of excitement and suspense in successive episodes – the basic appeal, after all, of the *histoire tragique* as a genre. And where sexuality is in question, the effect comes close to titillation.

Hence, the reader is offered an elaborately tantalising *praeteritio* regarding the activities of the brothel. Even as he sends a further signal of personal piety, Belleforest manages to insinuate a doubt (later dispelled, of course) that the young woman (here Tharsie) maintains her virginity:

> Ie ne veux icy poursuiure tout ce que le liure escrit à la main met en auant les [*sic* – read 'des'?] assaux qu'endura ceste Princesse en la Cité de Metelin, d'autant que ceux qui n'ont pas leu les liures Grecs, & ignorent la malheurté qui suiuoit la condition des esclaues de quelque sexe, estat, ou condition qu'il fussent, diroient, & blasmeroient ceci de monsonge, & ne pourroyent prendre en bonne part ce qui en est escrit: comme aussi ie n'ay plaisir à vous deschiffrer des choses tant esloignees de la modestie & honnesteté requise [*sic*] au Chrestien.
>
> (I do not wish here to pursue all that the manuscript presents concerning the assaults that Princess endured in the city of Mytilene, in that those who have not read the Greek books, and who do not know the misery that went with the condition of slavery regardless of sex, rank or condition, would denounce and

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> accuse this of falsehood and would not be able to take in good part what is written about it; and likewise I would take no pleasure in deciphering for you matters so far removed from the modesty and honesty required of a Christian.)[154]

The incestuous relation between Antiochus and his daughter occasions more blatant sensationalism. In his introduction, Belleforest spends a good page and a half deploring incest as a sign of mankind's degeneracy into sensual sinfulness from its first state of perfection.[155] This sin thus becomes charged, in a way anticipating *Pericles*, with the symbolic weight of the Fall. He excuses his need to introduce the subject at all and assures the reader (somewhat contradictorily) that he will not linger on it because he has dealt with it fully in other volumes. In fact, the father's compulsive attraction to and eventual rape of his daughter are then narrated at length with a typical combination of prurience and emotional authenticity.

French reunions, revivals, reawakenings

Belleforest's strategy of dosing his narrative of Apollonie with erotic energy, for both better and worse, while keeping in place a moralistic framework, is not necessarily mere pandering to a readership eager for sensation. It serves to recuperate, in terms more culturally accessible, a vital part of the Hellenistic romance dynamic. Given the evidence proposed so far, it is worth raising the possibility that Belleforest's approach to this material helped to define the generic terms and presentational style, not just of *Pericles* but of Shakespeare's final works at large. The hypothesis receives support from striking precedents in the narrative for the climactic reunion scenes that also distinguish *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*. Arguably, the reunion between Hermione and Leontes, which is, of course, without precedent in Greene's *Pandosto*, shows particular signs of inflection by Belleforest.

Belleforest's notion of tragicomedy constitutes a first basic point of contrast with *Pandosto*, a narrative which makes revealingly different use of theatrical metaphor. There not only does the lost wife remain so, marking the finality of tragedy in her case, but a theatrical metaphor signals a last-minute resurgence of the tragic that cancels the otherwise happy ending: the eponymous central character kills himself, 'To close up the comedy with a tragical stratagem'.[156] Most striking here is not Greene's arbitrary deviation from the model of Heliodorus, by which he was strongly influenced overall,[157] but rather his bluntly binary generic thinking, which occults the concluding fusion of joy and sorrow in the Greek romance. It seems possible that Shakespeare in 1611 was in part responding to Greene's implicit exclusion of a mixed genre which

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would recuperate the multiple finding and losing evoked by Heliodorus – and indeed that the change of name from Fawnia to Perdita reflects Amyot's translation: 'chacun ensemble … trouuast ceux qu'il pensoit auoir *perduz*, & *perdist* ceux qu'il cuidoit auoir trouuez' (italics mine).[158]

Such resonance with the structure of the archetypal antique novel might have been enriched, in turn, by the quasi-theatrical procedures employed by Belleforest, in his version of Apollonius, to mingle joy and sorrow in the two concluding reunions. Not only does he render both scenes protracted, suspenseful – and dramatic – beyond the precursor analogues. He also manages the narration so as to combine a potent sense of spirituality with a surprisingly realistic evocation of complex humanity.

The father-daughter reunions of Belleforest and *Pericles* are linked by distinctive elements associated with the progression towards the hero's disclosure (and consequent resumption) of identity. In both versions (uniquely, to my knowledge), immediately before naming himself, and as a final confirmation of what he already feels he knows, he puts his daughter to a naming test. In *Pericles*, he asks her to name her mother. She has already provided the other corroborating details, including, in passing (*Per.*, V.i.159), the name of her nurse, Lychorida (as in Gower, but by no means in all versions – many leave her unnamed). Perhaps more logically, Belleforest saves the name of the nurse (Lychoris) for the purpose, although this makes for a less direct contribution to the virtual family reunion. Nevertheless, the narrative effect is powerful, largely because the reader, like the spectator of the dramatic version, is made keenly sensible of Apollonie's struggle against his own awakened hope:

> pour mieux s'en asseurer, il luy dit, m'amie, faites-moy certain, encor d'vne chose touchant vostre vie, car ie cognoy tous ceux desquels auez parlé: comment s'appelloit la Dame qui vous eust iadis en gouuernement? Ce qu'il profera d'vne voix tremblante & interrompue de soupirs & sanglots & meslé [*sic*] de larmes, & pleurs, se tenant pour tout resolu que c'estoit sa fille: & plus s'en asseura-il, oyant qu'elle luy dit que le nom d'icelle estoit Lycoris, trépassee il y auoit long temps & enterree le long de la marine hors la cité de Tharse.
>
> (the better to assure himself of it, he said to her, my dear, make me certain of one more thing concerning your life, for I know all those you have spoken of. What was the name of the lady who served as governess to you? He spoke this with a voice trembling and broken by sighs and sobs, and mingled with tears and weeping, determined as he was that she was his daughter. And he was surer of it when he heard her say that the name of that person was Lycoris, who had died a long time ago and was buried on the seashore outside the city of Tharsis.)[159]

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Incidentally, a further suggestive detail leaps out of the French text at this point, where names are precisely the issue. No explanation beyond the symbolic one is needed for the unique designation of the daughter in *Pericles* as Marina,[160] but the occurrence of 'marine' ('seashore') in this passage might well have made an impression on an author (or authors) who preferred to avoid the banality of 'Tharsie' and found Gower's 'Thaisa' more useful elsewhere.

In any case, the father's self-naming would seem to provide the natural climax of the scene, and so it does in both Belleforest and *Pericles*: 'je suis Apolonie de Tyr vostre pere' (I am Apollonie of Tyre, your father);[161] 'I am Pericles of Tyre' (*Per.*, V.i.204). Again, however, the detail constitutes a distinctive point of contact.[162] A further link consists in the equal suspense and sense of discovery developed on the daughter's side. In the play, Marina defers her answer to her father's question by asking his identity. This matches her relative agency and initiative, which contrast with the precursor variants – except Belleforest's. In the *histoire tragique*, before the physical approach that provokes Apollonie's violent reaction and triggers the revelation sequence *per se*, one of Tharsie's songs is a fervent prayer, addressed ecumenically to the '*Sainte clarté qui honores les cieux*' (you sacred brilliance who honour the heavens),[163] that she may one day see her father. The injunction usually found in the *Gesta* derivatives that Apollonius should live in the hope that God may restore his wife and daughter becomes an emotional plea for him to renew his faith – a faith reconverted by Belleforest, as by Shakespeare, into pre-Christian terms:[164]

> Et finissant ceci, commença en larmoiant prier Apolonie de se réjoüir, et n'offencer point les Dieux, en se defiant ainsi de leur grace, faueur & assistance: que s'il auoit perdu sa femme, il en auroit des nouuelles, & si la fille estoit égaree, les Dieux estoyent puissans pour luy restituer.
>
> (And finishing this, she began, weeping, to beg Apollonius to be joyful, and by no means to offend the gods by thus calling in question their grace, favour, and assistance: that if he had lost his wife, he would have news of her; and if his daughter was lost, the gods had the power to restore her to him.)[165]

Belleforest's reader, no less than the play's spectator, is actively engaged in the daughter's affective dynamic, which opens a channel to the divine. The heroine in the *Confessio Amantis* is a passive instrument of God's purpose ('For god, which wot here hol entente, / Here hertes bothe anon desclos-eth'[166]), while Twyne's is motivated by admiration and pity ('wondring at his wisedome, and the rather, lamenting his discomfortablenesse'[167]). Marina, by contrast, is moved to persist by 'something glows upon my cheek, / And whispers in my ear' (*Per.*, V.i.95–6). Tharsie, likewise, is 'solicitee, sans y penser, de la mesme nature, qui l'inclinoit à aymer cet homme plus que tout autre'

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(solicited, without thinking of it, by the same nature which inclined her to love that man more than any other).[168] Just such an emotionally charged amalgam of the natural and the supernatural, mutually experienced, is regularly at the core of Shakespearean romance reunions.

Still, given the supreme theatricality of the protracted father-daughter recognition in *Pericles*, it would have been difficult actually to stage the proverbial encore. Pericles' reunion with his wife is intense but succinct, the enactment of a symbolic completion. This time, his need for corroboration seems almost mechanical, and he appears overwhelmed, lost in a haze of quasi-supernatural confusion (naturally enough, in the circumstances). At this point, the action follows the outline of the concise *Confessio Amantis* version,[169] although the wife's surge of physical passion – a traditional feature of the scene – is pointedly rechannelled as chaste desire. Thaisa, unlike most of her counterparts, looks but does not touch, and the holiness of wedlock is evoked: 'O, let me look! / If he be none of mine, my sanctity / Will to my sense bend no licentious ear, / But curb it, spite of seeing' (*Per.*, V.iii.28–31).[170]

In the *Gesta*-derived versions, including that of Belleforest, the lost wife embraces her husband in a surge of passion and is rudely repulsed.[171] Typically, Belleforest develops the spouses' reunion more fully than do the analogues, and he does so around the dramatic moment of the violent rebuff, which is, quite exceptionally, given a quasi-comic realistic twist and infused with irony; far from being discouraged (as in Twyne, where she bursts into tears before declaring her identity),[172] the lady doggedly persists in embracing and kissing the resistant Apollonie: 'Elle ne se souciant de ceste peu courtoise familiarité, le retint plus estroitement, … le baisant en dépit qu'il en eut de grande amitié' (She, taking no heed of this less than courteous impropriety, held on to him more tightly, … kissing him against his will out of her great amorousness).[173] As often in Belleforest, situation and character acquire a quasi-dramatic momentum independent of formal (or moral) patterning, and here that momentum makes for distance from the reunion of Pericles and Thaisa.

Notably anticipated, however, is the still more radical conversion of *histoire tragique* into tragicomedy that concludes *The Winter's Tale*. There, of course, the prior father-daughter reunion receives subordinate treatment by way of narration, so that there is no danger of anti-climax. On the contrary, all the stops are pulled to heighten the theatrical impact of Hermione's apparent return to life, and to Leontes. The parallel begins with Archestrate's physical initiative when she becomes aware of the identities of her husband and daughter. She was unable to restrain herself any longer, we are told, despite the dignity of the religious ceremony, 'qu'elle ne se iettast

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au col de son espoux, & ne l'embrassast fort estroittement' (but that she threw herself on her husband's neck and embraced him very tightly).[174] The correspondence with the narrated actions of Hermione, before she speaks, is exact:

> *Polixenes.* She embraces him.
> *Camillo.* She hangs about his neck.
> (*WT*, V.iii.111–12)

There is no question of Leontes' repulsing his wife, but he has resisted recognition (because of her age), is evidently daunted by the miracle and requires Paulina's teasing encouragement:

> Start not; her actions shall be holy, as
> You hear my spell is lawful. Do not shun her …
> … Nay, present your hand.
> When she was young, you woo'd her; now, in age,
> Is she become your suitor?
> (104–9)

Uniquely among husbands in the Apollonius story, Belleforest's character fails to respond even after Archestrate reveals herself; he thereby elicits his wife's ironic evocation of their shared past. The humour, like Paulina's, is at once gentle and poignant, bringing out the deep seriousness of the rejoicing:

> & quoy monsieur, ne daignez vous me parler? suis-ie indigne de vostre accointance? est-ce le conte[175] que vous faites de vostre moitié? sont ce les caresses que vous me faisiez au peu de temps que les Dieux ont permis que nous fussions ensemble? Au moins si ne voulez me parler, si refusez ma veüe, faites moy la grace que ie puisse voir nostre fille.
>
> (and what is this, sir? Do you not deign to speak to me? Am I unworthy of your acquaintance? Is this the account you make of your other half? Are these the caresses you gave me in the little time the gods permitted us to be together? At least, if you do not wish to speak to me, if you will not look at me, at least do me the favour of letting me see our daughter.)[176]

Such incitement opens the floodgates, and Apollonie reverts indeed to his youthful posture and passion: 'Et se mit à luy baiser la bouche, les yeux & les iouës, & lui prenant les mains, quoy qu'elle ne voulut le souffrir, en vsa tout ainsi que si encor il n'eut fait que commencer à luy faire service' (And he began to kiss her mouth, her eyes and cheeks, and taking her hands, although she was unwilling to permit him, made such use of them as if he had only just begun to woo her).[177]

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With regard to Apollonie, there is no question of spousal disloyalty on either side, but Belleforest's sexual moralism requires the cards to be put on the table; Achestrate declares herself still his loyal wife and adds, 'comme ie croy que mon Apolonie s'est maintenu loyaument, & a gardé la foy promise à sa fidelle partie' (as I believe that my Apollonie has maintained himself loyal and kept the faith promised to his faithful spouse).[178] And indeed, uniquely in this version, it would seem, the hero has kept himself unshaven and uncoiffed even after recovering his daughter, as outward signs of what his sufferings cumulatively witness: 'combien Apollonie ayme celle que la vertu, & l'honnesteté, & non les folles amours luy ont donné [*sic*] pour loyale compagne, & pudique épouse' (how much Apollonie loves her whom virtue and honesty, and not foolish love, gave him as a faithful companion and modest spouse).[179]

Fidelity is not the issue in *Pericles*, but it certainly is in *The Winter's Tale*, as Paulina has just indirectly reminded both on- and offstage audiences – 'It is requir'd / You do awake your faith' (*WT*, V.iii.94–5) – especially the husband who lost his own faith in that of his wife sixteen years before, and sacrificed his family as a result. In the context, as with the original marriage vows now being renewed, the term combines the human with the divine, and the awakened Hermione returns to the theme when she cites her faith in the Oracle as the reason she 'preserv'd' herself (127). The reunion between Apollonie and Archestrate proves the oracular quality of the assurance proffered to her father by Tharsie, on the verge of their mutual recognition, of the gods' power to reunite father and daughter, husband and wife. Finally, it is notable that, as critics alert to specifically Catholic meanings have pointed out, Paulina's miracle of the statue is staged in what she calls a 'chapel' (85). Belleforest likewise invents an inner space of special reverence and designates it by the same term: 'Apolonie, ses gendre & fille entrans en la Chapelle plus secrette, ne prindrent garde à la face de la Prestresse' (Apollonie, his son-in-law and daughter entering into the most secret chapel, paid no attention to the face of the priestess).[180]

Common to the climactic reunions in Belleforest and *The Winter's Tale* are the thanks to the gods, the atmosphere of awed wonder, the presentation of the kneeling daughter – this last, too, as in *Pericles*, although she does not kneel in the other *Historia* or *Gesta* derivatives, including Twyne, while she is not even mentioned at the equivalent moment in the *Confessio Amantis*. The multiple repetitions of 'grace', however, tend to confirm Archestrate's link with Hermione.[181] And it is difficult indeed not to find Leontes anticipated in the extended apology that Belleforest gives his hero for initially spurning his wife. Apollonie hardly has Leontes' record of villainies with

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which to reproach himself, but the admixture of regret in his joy distinguishes him from his counterparts in other versions:

> Apollonie contemplant l'extreme beauté de son épouse, & se ressouuenant des traits de sa face,& de la grace qu'elle auoit en parlant, tout honteux & larmoyant, dressa ses excuses disant. Ah, madame pardonnez-moy, si la longueur du temps, l'asseurance que i'auoy de vostre mort & la douleur qui me tient saisi, m'ont osté celle cognoissance de vous, que le vray, & chaste amour a empraint de telle sorte en mon esprit qu'il est impossible que iamais cette impression soi effacee en mon ame. … Mais que je recognoy mon ancienne disciple, que ie recouure ma moitié perdue, que ma ioye reprend force, & que les dieux ont compassion de ma peine ie ne feray plus conscience (ce disant il embrassa estroitement, & en plaurant chaudement Archetrate) d'acoller, ny baiser saintement en vn lieu saint, celle de laquelle la diuinité me donne en son temple vne desiree recognoissance.
>
> (Apollonie, contemplating the extreme beauty of his wife, and recalling the features of her face, and the grace which she had in speaking, all ashamed and weeping, made his excuses, saying: ah, madam, pardon me if the length of time, the certainty I had of your death and the pain that held me in its grip deprived me of the knowledge of you that true and chaste love has so imprinted on my mind that it is impossible that ever that impression should be effaced from my soul. … But now that I recognise my former pupil, recover the lost half of myself – now that my joy gains strength again and the gods have compassion on my pain (saying this he embraced Archestrate closely and tearfully) – I shall make no scruple of throwing my arms about, or kissing sacredly in a sacred place, her of whom the divinity in her temple has given me the recognition that I longed for.)[182]

Overall, this scene makes a virtual sketch for the complex dynamic of Leontes' unfolding response to the fulfilment of the Oracle: resistance to belief, then repentance, as he hesitantly awakens, under the guidance of the 'divinity' mediated by Paulina, to recognise himself again in the act of recognising Hermione across the 'wide gap of time' (*WT*, V.iii.154) and the wider one of guilt-ridden privation.

Still, at the moment where Apollonie explicitly associates his own kiss and embrace with the blessing of the gods, he more closely anticipates a synthesising declaration of Pericles, one distinct from the analogues. The two loving gestures themselves are standard, although the kiss is not universal; both are specified by Gower and Twyne. Twyne (though not Gower) also records the hero's thankful prayer – already Christianised in the *Gesta*, but now infused with distinctly Protestant piety; divinity is given priority and respectfully distanced from the sensual resonances of the reunion, which are themselves downplayed.[183] Only in *Pericles* does the hero, like Apollonie, refer to his own

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physical displays of affection and incorporate them into a resolutely pagan sense of blessing:

> You gods, your present kindness
> Makes my miseries sports. You shall do well,
> That on the touching of her lips I may
> Melt, and no more be seen. O, come, be buried
> A second time within these arms.
> (*Per.*, V.iii.40–4)

The evocation of ecstasy as death is sexual, according to the familiar code; it corresponds to Apollonie's upsurge of 'joye', which with, indeed, the latter nearly gets carried away, according to Belleforest's vivid evocation of a sacred and chaste love that is nonetheless – or all the more – intensely erotic.

I wish now to return briefly to the climactic reunion scene of *The Winter's Tale* from the perspective of Shakespeare's engagement with Montaigne. If Belleforest's version of the Apollonius story effectively re-activates the symbolic pattern of Heliodorus in ways closely corresponding to *The Winter's Tale* – and if, more practically, it suggests how fantastic events may be staged in emotionally convincing terms – it does not anticipate the device of the statue apparently coming to life under Paulina's quasi-magical management. It is most blatantly that invention, seamlessly uniting possibility and impossibility, which reopens the generic closure imposed by Greene on romance form. Given contemporary audiences' familiarity with Ovid, the living-statue motif would virtually have announced its immediate source as the awakening of Pygmalion's statue under the influence of his love, as recounted in the *Metamorphoses*. And criticism has naturally enough followed suit, although with a long-standing tendency – revealing in itself, and encouraged by a parallel with the reunion in Euripides' play – to seek a deeper mythical basis in the recovery from death of Alcestis.[184]

Nevertheless, the Ovidian landmark may also signal an intertextual link to a further neglected analogue: a brief but memorable narrative recounted by Montaigne in his essay 'De trois bonnes femmes' (Of three good women), whose cornerstone is the essayist's ideal of companionate marriage, couched in terms that certainly resonate with *The Winter's Tale*:

> La touche d'un bon mariage, et sa vraye preuve, regarde le temps que la societé dure: si elle a esté constamment douce, loyalle et commode.
>
> (The touchstone and perfect trial of a good mariage, respects the time that the society continueth; whether it have constantly beene milde, loyall and commodious.)[185]

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The story in question lays claim to historical truth and instructive value, in keeping with Montaigne's well-known preference for edifying fact over diverting fiction. Yet the essayist concludes by recommending Ovid's compositional practice as a literary model. The authors of his time, he opines, might use such matter to create harmonious wholes out of different parts, 'à peu pres comme Ovide a cousu et r'apiecé sa Metamorphose, de ce grand nombre de fables diverses' (And very neere, as *Ovid* hath sowen and contrived his Metamorphosis, with that strange number of diverse fables).[186] No doubt, the ultimate classical fabulist of transformation serves all the more effectively to authorise the argument because he is evoked ironically. For the argument itself is that the three 'true' stories just recounted would make superior material, combining 'plaisir' and 'profit', for popular writers – such as, notably, Belleforest, to whose *Histoires tragiques* the generic marker 'plaisans et tragiques' would certainly apply:

> Voylà mes trois contes tres-veritables, que je trouve aussi plaisans et tragiques que ceux que nous forgeons à notre poste pour donner plaisir au commun; et m'estonne que ceux qui s'adonnent à cela, ne s'avisent de choisir plutost dix mille tres-belles histoires qui se rencontrent dans les livres, où ils auroient moins de peine et apporteroient plus de plaisir et profit.
>
> (Loe heere my three true stories, which in my conceit are as pleasant and as tragicall, as any we devise at our pleasures, to please the vulgar sort withall: and I wonder, that those who invent so many fabulous tales, do not rather make choise of infinite excellent, and quaint stories, that are found in bookes, wherein they should have lesse trouble to write them, and might doubtlesse proove more pleasing to the hearer, and profitable to the Reader.)[187]

Whether or not Shakespeare's thought of *The Winter's Tale* as a 'conte' of 'trois bonnes femmes' – as, from one angle, it surely is – he may have been particularly struck by Montaigne's tribute to the last in his series: Pompeia Paulina, the loving and learned wife of Seneca, who shared her husband's Stoic philosophy. When the tyrant Nero ordered her husband to commit suicide, she attempted to follow him – not sacrificing herself to save him, as Alcestis does for Admetus, but out of profound devotion and conviction. Her attempt was thwarted, however:

> Neron, adverty de tout cecy, craignant que la mort de Paulina, qui estoit des mieux apparentées dames Romaines et envers laquelle il n'avoit nulles particulieres inimitiez, luy vint à reproche, renvoya en toute diligence luy faire r'atacher ses playes: ce que ses gens d'elle firent sans son sçeu, estant des-jà demy morte et sans aucun sentiment.

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> (*Nero* being advertised of all this, fearing lest *Paulinaes* death (who was one of the best alied Ladies in *Rome*, and to whom he bare no particular grudge) might cause him some reproach, sent in all poste haste to have her incisions closed up againe, and if possibly it could be, to save her life;[188] which hir servants [unwitting to] her, performed, she being more then halfe dead and voyd of any sence.)[189]

The apparent death of Hermione during her trial, newly vindicated by the Oracle but overwhelmed by Mamillius' demise, provokes a similar about-face on the part of Leontes. When the play's Paulina enjoins him to 'Look down / And see what death is doing' (*WT*, III.ii.148–9), he seeks, stricken with remorse and fear, to undo what he had sought to procure:

> I have too much believ'd my own suspicion.
> Beseech you tenderly apply to her
> Some remedies for life.
>
> (151–3)

And when Paulina reports that death has triumphed irrevocably over life – in effect, that comedy cannot be brought out of tragedy – she insistently and bitterly confronts him with his 'tyranny' (174, 179, 207).

The irony, as Leontes will discover sixteen years later, is that the 'remedies for life' do succeed in Hermione's case, as they did with Seneca's Paulina, who was revived despite herself and lived on, indelibly marked by the suffering she had nobly undergone:

> Et ce que, contre son dessein, elle vesquit dépuis, ce fut tres-honorablement et comme il appartenoit à sa vertu, montrant par la couleur blesme de son visage combien elle avoit escoulé de vie par ses blessures.
>
> (And that afterward, contrary to her intent, she lived,[190] it was very honourable, and as befitted her vertue, shewing by the pale hew and wanne colour of her face, how much of her life she had wasted by her incisions.)[191]

The theatrical magic contrived by Shakespeare's Paulina reveals and re-enacts Hermione's concealed prior restoration – and identifies the essential 'remedy for life' as her faith in the Oracle. Though at first in conflict with Leontes' timeless image – 'Hermione was not so much wrinkled, nothing / So aged as this seems' (28–9) – until his own 'evils' are thereby 'conjur'd to remembrance'(*WT*, V.iii.40), Hermione's wrinkles are there, like the physical changes to Seneca's wife, to show 'how much of her life she had wasted'. The verb chosen by Florio, 'waste', slips easily from one heroine to another in its sense of destruction and its common Shakespearean application to time.[192] Made doubly visible is the impossibility of effacing sufferings endured, given

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that time moves in one direction only, if more quickly within the theatre than outside it.

Yet wrinkles are also generically pivotal, according to Montaigne's observation in 'Nous ne goustons rien de pur' (We taste nothing purely), an essay placed in Book 2 roughly half-way between the 'Apologie de Raimond Sebond' (An apologie of *Raymond Sebond*) (chapter 12) – crucially important for *Hamlet*[193] – and 'Of three good women'. It is an essay of a few pages presenting 'wrinkles'– the word, it should be noted, figures as Florio's translation of 'plis' – not only as markers of the natural passage of time but as intrinsically ambiguous, expressing either weeping or laughing to the point of tears. When this lesson of 'Nature' is captured in a work of art – hence, taken out of time – onlookers are plunged into an aporia:

> Nature nous descouvre cette confusion; les peintres tiennent que les mouvemens et plis du visage qui servent au pleurer, servent aussi au rire. De vray, avant que l'un ou l'autre soyent achevez d'exprimer, regardez à la conduict de la peinture: vous estes en doubte vers lequel c'est qu'on va. Et l'extremité du rire se mesle aux larmes.
>
> (Nature discovereth this confusion unto us: painters are of opinion, that *the motions and wrinkles in the face, which serve to weepe, serve also to laugh*. Verely, before one or other be determined to expresse which; behold the pictures successe, you are in doubt toward which one enclineth. And the extreamity of laughing entermingles it selfe with teares.)[194]

The play shows this aporia both resolved, as the statue comes to life, descending once again into the realm of time, and unresolvable, because 'joy and sorrow' are no longer a subject of 'combat' (*WT*, V.ii.73), as in the account of the discovery of Perdita:

> There might you have beheld one joy crown another, so and in such manner than it seem'd sorrow wept to take leave of them, for their joy waded in tears. … Our king, being ready to leap out of himself for joy of his found daughter, as if that joy were now become a loss, cries, 'O, thy mother, thy mother!' (43–52)

Instead, the statue scene shows what Montaigne presents as the ever-present 'confusion' of the two emotions carried to a new level of intensity. And if it is still 'Nature' that 'discovereth' this effect, it conspicuously gives life also to Polixenes' earlier affirmation of an 'art' that 'itself is Nature' (*WT*, IV.iv.97).

It is essential to experiencing the ending as the characters themselves do to recognise it as bitter-sweet, like the taste 'des pommes doucement aigres' (of sweetly-sower apples) to which Montaigne, citing Seneca, compares 'la

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memoire de nos amis perdus' (the remembrance of our [lost] friends).[195] Leontes does so in exclaiming, from the depths of his mingled hope and painful remembrance, that 'this affliction has a taste as sweet / As any cordial comfort' (*WT*, V.iii.76–7). He thereby, moreover, displays his own wrinkles. No doubt there are outward ones, after sixteen years, but also inward, worn by his 'tears shed' (III.ii.239) daily on the tombs, real or imagined, of the victims of his tyrannical delusion.

That delusion conspicuously rode roughshod over both reason and experience – the two possible means of attaining knowledge, according to Montaigne's (always provisional) 'last word' in 'De l'experience' (Of experience), however fallible and variable these are: 'La raison a tant de formes, que nous ne sçavons à laquelle nous prendre; l'experience n'en a pas moins' (*Reason hath so many shapes, that wee know not which to take hold of. Experience hath as many*).[196] The essayist proves the unreliability of the closest apparent resemblances by the fact that men have been found whose experience enables them to make fine distinctions between eggs,[197] thus flying in the face of the common proverb.[198] Leontes implausibly laid claim to such ability, in effect, when he doubted his son's paternity: 'they say we are / Almost as like as eggs; women say so – / That will say anything' (*WT*, I.ii.129–31). This anticipated his furious denial when Paulina demonstrates his baby daughter's likeness to him at II.iii.96–103. His obsession with specious similarity was hinted at ironically even when he teased his son – 'Mine honest friend, / Will you take eggs for money?' (I.ii.160–1) – and it informed his effective repudiation of Polixenes' image of the former friends as 'twinn'd lambs' (66): 'You have mistook, my lady, / Polixenes for Leontes' (II.i.81–2). In a sense, he had fallen into the nightmare grip of Montaigne's thoroughly destabilising insistence that 'La dissimilitude s'ingere d'elle mesme en nos ouvrages' (Dissimilitude doth of it selfe insinuate into our workes),[199] while the impossibly life-like statue – 'What fine chisel / Could ever yet cut breath?' (V.iii.78–9) – will restore faith in a higher similitude, proving the essayist at once right and wrong: 'nul art peut arriver à la similitude' (no arte can come neere unto similitude).[200]

The fideistic trajectory of the 'Apologie de Raimond Sebond' moves (if only in the author's latest revision, as is notorious) from the inadequacy of human faculties and virtues to an injunction to rely on 'foy' (faith).[201] Leontes, too, is ready now, in the face of impossibility, to 'awake' his 'faith', when Paulina gives him his cue. The play thereby carries beyond the passive endurance exemplified by Montaigne's female epitome of Stoic virtue towards a symbolic spiritual redemption of which Shakespeare's Paulina is the instrument. So did Montaigne himself explicitly reject the Stoic prescription for transcending

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humanity, and he did so in terms that again might seem to prepare for the Ovidian graft that Shakespeare effected upon Greene's generic binarism:

> C'est à nostre foy Chrestienne, non à sa vertu Stoique, de pretendre à cette divine et miraculeuse metamorphosis.
>
> (It is for our Christian faith, not for his Stoicke vertue, to pretend or aspire to this divine Metamorphosis, or miraculous transformation.)[202]

We are brought full circle by the fact that the 'he' in question here is Seneca himself.[203]

In 'Nous ne goustons rien de pur', Montaigne makes it clear that the impurity lies within human nature: 'L'homme en tout et par tout, n'est que rapiessement et bigarrure' (*Man all in all, is but a botching and party-coloured worke*).[204] All, then, are effectively born 'Nature's bastards', contrary to what Perdita maintains in rejecting 'streak'd gillyvors' (*WT*, IV.iv.82–3) on the grounds of an 'art which in their piedness shares / With great creating Nature' (87–8). The play's version of the 'divine et miraculeuse metamorphosis' devoutly wished for by Montaigne – and an evocation of Ovid resounds willy-nilly within his piety – is Paulina's exercise of natural art, which effectively transforms 'the fairest flow'rs o' th' season' (81) by at once transcending and accepting seasonality and all that goes with it: '"Tis time; descend; be stone no more; approach; / Strike all that look upon with marvel' (*WT*, V.iii.99–100).

Paulina's name has often, naturally, been taken to resonate with the redemptive message of the Apostle, and this study has proposed that Shakespeare's most spiritually resonant comedies have amply laid the groundwork for a final intertextual evocation here of Paul's role in *L'Homme iustifié par Foy*. 'L'Homme' in question might now just as well take the name of Leontes. Yet it cannot be ignored that in this pagan universe, the Oracle of Apollo is vindicated and fulfilled, not silenced, or that, in a way not necessarily congenial to Saint Paul – even if Faith itself is traditionally figured as female (as indeed in *L'Homme iustifié par Foy* itself) – the injunction to its awakening comes from a spokes*woman* for a virtuous feminine harmony with natural creation: a tale of 'Three good women' indeed. In the place of the 'sad' winter's 'tale' of Mamillius, with its 'sprites and goblins' (II.i.25–6) heralding Leontes' misogynist violence, Paulina affirms this 'conte' as 'tres-veritable' beyond Montaigne's conception:

> That she is living,
> Were it but told you, should be hooted at
> Like an old tale, but it appears she lives.
> (V.iii.115–17)

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If Montaigne thus fortuitously presented Shakespeare with a figure named Paulina to mediate between tragic loss and miraculous recovery, the dramatist effectively pursued the intertextual dialogue by recuperating Montaigne's fideism for the paganism the essayist rejected.

Another analogous intertextual manoeuvre sheds light on *The Winter's Tale*. It is, of course, typical of Shakespeare to echo serious themes on the comic level, and this device is exploited to impressive effect when the Clown, Perdita's supposed brother, is caught up in the transformative mechanisms of the conclusion. Between the two principal instances of joyful redemption from death to life, he too is miraculously re-'born' as a 'gentleman', enacting his own parodic triumph over reality and time itself. His new state enables him to confront Autolycus, who had once threatened him with a caricature of death by tyrannical torment:

> You denied to fight with me this other day, because I was no gentleman born. See you these clothes? Say you see them not and think me still no gentleman born. … try whether I am not now a gentleman born.
>
> *Autolycus.* I know you are now, sir, a gentleman born.
>
> *Clown.* Ay, and have been so any time these four hours.
>
> (*WT*, V.ii.128–37)

The miracle extends to a sudden discovery, recovery and expansion of family that blends laughing and weeping in a fine tragicomic balance:

> the King's son took me by the hand, and call'd me brother; and then the two kings call'd my father brother; and then the Prince, my brother, and the Princess, my sister, call'd my father father; and so we wept; and there was the first gentleman-like tears that ever we shed. (140–5)

Nor does Shakespeare neglect a reminder of tragic sorrow as a natural function of time, when the Shepherd adds, with richly comic sagacity, 'We may live, son, to shed many more' (146). Overall, the narrative re-enacts the climactic reunion scene related in the *Aethiopica* and, with the help of its own comic energy, recuperates a similar sense of divinity infusing human affairs.

It seems likely that Shakespeare remembered, even as he pointedly revived the bear slain in the eminently familiar *Mucedorus*, the 'clown' (Mouse) in that play, who provides a more strictly farcical counterpoint to the wondrous revelations of the conclusion, and who needs to be reassured, 'the King meanes to make thee a gentleman'.[205] But also engaged intertextually, at first glance surprisingly, is Montaigne's exposition of the rigid caste system in India:

> Nulle durée de temps, nulle faveur de prince, nul office ou vertu ou richesse peut faire qu'un roturier devienne noble.

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> (*No continuance of time, no favour of Prince, no office, no vertue, nor any wealth can make a clown to become a gentleman.*)[206]

The linguistic specificity of the echo ('clown'–'gentleman') is evidence that, as with Gonzalo's utopian speech in *The Tempest*, Florio's translation is the version the playwright had in mind. It is to the point that the prohibition of marriage across class boundaries is specified, and also that, just a few lines before, Montaigne had cited the contrary opinion of the Macedonian general Antigonus in favour of inward worth as outweighing noble birth.[207] (Otherwise, no reason has been suggested for Shakespeare's use of that name for Paulina's husband.) These references are found, moreover, in the essay 'Sur des vers de Virgile' (Upon some verses of Virgil), whose central subject is the requirements of companionate marriage and the potentially disruptive place of sexuality – treated at length in a way that acknowledges both women's desire and their vulnerability to men.[208] Shortly after his mention of Antigonus and the Indian prohibitions, Montaigne evokes a good marriage (if, he stipulates, such may exist) in terms that resonate with 'Of three good women' – and with *The Winter's Tale*'s multiple evocations of unions lost (including that of Paulina and Antigonus) and found: 'une douce societé de vie, pleine de constance, de fiance et d'un nombre infiny d'utiles et solides offices et obligations mutuelles' (a sweete society of life, full of constancy, of trust, and an infinite number of profitable and solid offices, and mutuall obligations).[209]

Such resonances would suggest that, if Shakespeare's gestures towards Montaigne in *The Winter's Tale*, as in *The Tempest*, ironically hint at confines and limits – finally, the limits of mortal understanding and of mortality itself – they also exploit an openness exposed by the essayist's very renunciation of certitude and accommodation of ambiguity. Montaigne chose as his motto, after all, 'Que sçay-je?', which Florio intriguingly translated so as implicitly to question the very capacity of language to capture – or reckon – experience, as in a tale: 'What can I *tell*?' (emphasis mine).[210] From their radically different points of view, the intensively reflective inventor of the *essai* and the practically minded professional dramatist converge on a conceptual stretching of traditional categories of human suffering and happiness to allow for their reciprocal co-presence. True experience, Montaigne insists, like its mimetic representation, is inherently 'plaisans' *and* 'tragique'. To move beyond that condition of humanity requires the gift of divine grace, as he maintains at the conclusion of the 'Apologie'. In the final tragicomedies, Shakespeare deploys a dramatic form that encodes such transcendence, but attaches it to non-existent gods, to outrageous improbabilities, to magic dependent on the human, to artifice

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frankly ephemeral. He stakes out a meeting-ground, perhaps, for the audience's deepest desires and the power of theatrical illusion, but only for the time of the play.

Coda

The moment has perhaps arrived to recognise *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale* not just as being 'very like' *tragédies à fin heureuse,* as Herrick observed some time ago,[211] but as deserving to be so considered in a simple yet profound way. The apparent absence of explicit theoretical support in England for such a genre's existence does not mean that the idea was inaccessible. Indeed, from this point of view, even the First Folio's slotting of *Cymbeline* into the category of 'Tragedies' – a label sustained in the running title – might be reconsidered. It is a play eminently readable, as commentary attests, according to the 'providential pattern'.[212] Yet the formal generic label might not simply be 'incorrect', as the second Arden editor affirms, or a concession to general 'affinities' (as the New Cambridge editor conjectures).[213] Instead, it could conceivably represent the considered judgement of Heminge and Condell, as adepts of evolving theatrical forms and tastes, including those inspired by Italian and – why not? – French models.

In such a light, finally, Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale*, whose conclusion moves from death to marriage, albeit 'By processe and by lengthe of certeyn yeres',[214] may actually have seemed to its dramatic adapters in 1613 the acme of poetic achievement, as is claimed by the Prologue to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*: 'it were an endless thing, / And too ambitious, to aspire to him' (*TNK*, Pro.22–3). The label of tragicomedy was applied to that play (presumably by the publisher John Waterson) in the 1634 Stationers' Register entry preceding its first publication, as the Arden editor points out; to add, however, 'But tragicomedy is not really quite the right word'[215] conspicuously begs the question. For his part, Shakespeare might just have supposed that he had succeeded, with Fletcher's collaboration, in a process of symbolic compression that pushes to its limits the fusion of the traditionally opposing genres. This is not a matter of staking all on marriage and finding funeral, as with Old Capulet or the love-sick Thracian barbarian.[216] Nor does it mean yoking, with Claudius-like violence, 'mirth in funeral' with 'dirge in marriage' (*Ham.*, I.ii.12). Rather, on the model of Heliodorus, it entails collapsing both, at once 'mournfully' and 'merily', into something like a single but infinitely capacious instant of human experience within time: '[a] day or two / Let us look sadly …' (*TNK*, V.4.124–5). Such an achievement, approximating in dramatic form the full potential of 'contes tres-véritables', might well have convinced a lifelong experimenter in generic

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possibilities that he had thoroughly earned his retirement and decisively passed the torch.

Notes

1 The question has been usefully refocused by Barbara A. Mowat, '"What's in a name?" Tragicomedy, romance, or late comedy', in Dutton and Howard (eds), *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works,* vol. 4: The Poems, Problem Comedies, Late Plays, pp. 129–49.

2 See, e.g., R. S. Forsythe, 'Imogen and Neronis', *Modern Language Notes*, 40 (1925), 313–14, on the link between *Cym.* and *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, and, on *Mucedorus* as inspiring the bear in *WT*, Pitcher (ed.), p. 143, n. 34 (to 'The names of the actors'). The popular dramatic heritage is, more generally, a principal concern of Mowat, '"What's in a name"', pp. 135–43.

3 Some important critical studies on the subject are enumerated in Chapter 1, p. 8, n. 6.

4 For recent re-applications of this perspective, see Helen Wilcox, 'Measuring up to Nebuchadnezzar: biblical presences in Shakespeare's tragicomedies', in Adrian Streete (ed.), *Early Modern Drama and the Bible: Contexts and Readings, 1570–1625* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp. 48–67, and Alison Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion* (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2014), pp. 198–201.

5 As mentioned in Chapter 1, the background picture provided by Salingar, *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy*, is especially comprehensive, although he does not deal with tragicomedy as such. The staying-power of the accepted *mélange* of elements is evident from Charles Moseley, 'The literary and dramatic contexts of the last plays', in Catherine M. S. Alexander (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Last Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 47–69, 47–51.

6 Frank Humphrey Ristine, *English Tragicomedy: Its Origin and History* (1910; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), pp. 52–9, takes both Italian and Spanish analogues into account; Marvin T. Herrick, *Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development in Italy, France, and England*, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 39 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), includes a chapter on 'French tragicomedy from Garnier to Corneille' (pp. 172–214). See also the panoramic (and stimulating) article by Marco Mincoff, 'Shakespeare, Fletcher and baroque tragedy', *Shakespeare Survey*, 20 (1967), 1–15, whose discussion of French elements, however, neglects all middle ground between the pastoralism of D'Urfe's *Astrée*, in which Fletcher was indeed 'saturated' (p. 3), and the 'French classicists' (p. 1), notably Racine. Cf. David L. Hirst, *Tragicomedy*, The Critical Idiom (London: Methuen, 1984), pp. 3–61, whose consideration of French drama begins with Corneille, and Arthur C. Kirsch, *Jacobean Dramatic Perspectives* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), who invokes the 'long and

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complex Continental history' (p. 6) of tragicomedy but leaves French theory and practice out of the picture.

7 Louise George Clubb, 'Pastoral jazz from the writ to the liberty', in Michele Marrapodi (ed.), *Italian Culture in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries: Rewriting, Remaking, Refashioning*, Anglo-Italian Renaissance Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 15–26, 26.

8 See esp. Robert Henke, *Pastoral Transformations: Italian Tragicomedy and Shakespeare's Late Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1997). The base has been usefully broadened in a classical direction by Sarah Dewar-Watson, notably in 'Aristotle and tragicomedy', in Subha Mukherji and Raphael Lyne (eds), *Early Modern Tragicomedy* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), pp. 15–27, and *Shakespeare's Poetics: Aristotle and Anglo-Italian Renaissance Genres*, Anglo-Italian Renaissance Studies, 17 (London: Routledge, 2018), *passim*.

9 See esp. Michele Marrapodi, 'Beyond the Reformation', whose argument has implications well beyond its immediate focus on *MM*.

10 Lois Potter, *The Life of William Shakespeare: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), p. 340. Incidentally, this sketch of Shakespeare as laboriously mastering the *Compendio*'s language is at odds with the view of some promoters of the Italian connection that even Shakespeare's early work evinces a facility with source material in Italian.

11 See Potter, *Life*, pp. 345–6.

12 Robert Henke, 'Pastoral as tragicomedic in Italy and England', in Marrapodi and Hoenselaars (eds), *The Italian World of English Renaissance Drama*, pp. 282–301. The notion of influence, as Henke qualifies it here, becomes quite elusive: 'Shakespeare follows the idea, if not the external form, of Guarinian tragicomedy in creating a variegated, capacious pastoral arena' (p. 298). In his broader study, *Pastoral Transformations*, Henke argues that *Pericles* 'initiates a postsatiric phase in Shakespearean drama, which draws extensively on the plot motifs of exemplary romance' (p. 41), yet gives the play relatively little attention 'because it lacks certain dramaturgical practices of contemporary tragicomedy as I have begun to define them' (p. 42).

13 John Fletcher, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, ed. Cyrus Hoy, in Fredson Bowers (gen. ed.), *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, 6 vols., vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 497 ('To the Reader').

14 See Suzanne Gossett (ed.), Introduction, *Pericles*, by William Shakespeare and George Wilkins, The Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), pp. 1–163, 109–11. Illuminating remarks on Fletcher's address 'To the Reader' in its original context and in subsequent criticism are offered by Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope, 'Introduction: the politics of tragicomedy, 1610–50', in Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope (eds), *The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 1–7.

15 The post-Shakespearean evolution of English tragicomedy, or, more broadly, romantic drama, is not my concern here. On the period of transition, see Richard

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Proudfoot, 'Shakespeare and the new dramatists of the King's Men, 1606–1613', in Brown and Harris (eds), *Later Shakespeare*, pp. 235–61, and, for a highly useful distillation of the generic development, Lee Bliss, 'Pastiche, burlesque, tragicomedy', in A. R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 237–61, esp. 244–6.

16 Lucy Munro, *Children of the Queen's Revels: A Jacobean Theatre Repertory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 124–32. Her Chapter 3, '"Grief, and joy, so suddenly commixt": company politics and the development of tragicomedy" (pp. 96–133), with its attention to multiple influences and theatrical imperatives, constitutes a valuable complement to my approach here.

17 See John Lyly, *Endymion*, ed. David Bevington, The Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), IV.iii.30–45; cf. the burlesque anticipation in III.iii.119–37.

18 Henke, *Pastoral Transformations*, p. 46; 'Transporting tragicomedy, p. 58.

19 John Florio, *Queen Anna's new world of words, or dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues, collected, and newly much augmented, etc.* (London: Melchior Bradwood [and William Stansby] for Edward Blount and William Barrett, 1611), p. 573. It is notable that, despite the prominence of the generic issue in the intervening years, this definition actually simplifies that of the first edition, which had unhelpfully added, 'halfe a tragedie, and half a comedie' (*A worlde of wordes, or Most copious, and exact dictionarie in Italian and English*) (London: Arnold Hatfield for Edward Blount, 1598), p. 427. On Florio's manifold cultural 'going-between', see Manfred Pfister, 'Inglese Italianato – Italiano Anglizzato: John Florio', in Andreas Höfele and Werner von Koppenfels (eds), *Renaissance Go-Betweens: Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, Spectrum Literatur Wissenschaft/Spectrum Literature, Komparatistische Studien/Comparative Studies, 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 32–54.

20 'Of the Caniballes', in Montaigne, *Essays*, trans. Florio, bk. 1, chapter 30. In Montaigne, *Essais*, ed. Villey and Saulnier, the essay figures as bk. 1, chapter 31. Gonzalo's effusion is a pastiche based on a passage in Florio (trans.), vol. 1, p. 220; for the original, see Villey and Saulnier (eds), pp. 206–7A.

21 Henke, *Pastoral Transformations,* p. 165.

22 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 1, chapter 131, p. 209A; trans. Florio, vol. 1, p. 223.

23 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 1, chapter 131, p. 209A; trans. Florio, vol. 1, p. 224 (my emphasis).

24 On Prospero's manipulations and their generic implications, see Hillman, *Shakespearean Subversions: The Trickster and the Play-Text*, pp. 230–50.

25 This has been well documented; for discussion and a further contribution, see Hillman, *French Reflections*, pp. 14–22.

26 See Eugène Rigal, *Le théâtre français avant la période classique: fin du XVI^e^ et commencement du XVII^e^ siècle* (1901; fac. rpt. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1969), p. 120.

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27 The statement is made by Olivier Millet, 'La comédie française à la Renaissance comme jeu parodique avec la tragédie et les genres littéraires', in Luc Fraisse (ed.), *L'Histoire littéraire: ses méthodes et ses résultats. Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Bertaud* (Geneva: Droz, 2001), pp. 449–66, 463.

28 An important synthetic survey, with a substantial list of pertinent plays, is still the early twentieth-century monograph of Henry Carrington Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy: Its Origin and Development from 1552 to 1628* (1907; rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1966). Naturally, his work has been supplemented and nuanced since then. See, very helpfully, Madeleine Lazard, *Le théâtre en France au XVI^e siècle*, Littératures Modernes (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), pp. 220–30, who counts seventeen plays from between 1552 and 1600 that carried the label of tragicomedy (pp. 222–3). Documenting French dramatic activity outside Paris continues to pose a special challenge.

29 On the hardening of generic attitudes in the mid-seventeenth century, citing some principal literary and theoretical instances, see Nicholas Hammond, 'Highly irregular: defining tragicomedy in seventeenth-century France', in Subha Mukherji and Raphael Lyne (eds), *Early Modern Tragicomedy* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007), pp. 76–83.

30 See above, p. 114 and n. 49. On Gascoigne's work in relation to the international tragicomic tradition of the 'Christian Terence', see Herrick, *Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development*, pp. 23–4 and 43–5.

31 Marc Papillon de Lasphrise, *La nouvelle tragi-comique, par le capitaine Lasphrise*, in E. Balmas (ed.), *Comédies du XVI^e siècle* (Milan: Editrice Viscontea, 1969), pp. 277–305, 278. For the critical estimation, see Millet, 'La comédie française à la Renaissance', pp. 465–6.

32 Richard Edwards, *Damon and Pythias*, in Ros King (ed.), *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England*, The Revels Plays Companion Library (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), xv.217–18.

33 Louis Des Masures, Tragédies saintes, ed. Charles Comte, Société des Textes Français Modernes (Paris: Droz, 1932).

34 François de Chantelouve, *Tragédie de Pharaon et autres oeuvres poétiques, contenant hymnes, divers sonnets et chansons* (Paris: N. Bonfons, 1577); see Richard Hillman, 'Pharaon et le duc de Guise, d'après François de Chantelouve', in Jérémie Foa and Paul-Alexis Mellet (eds), *Le Bruit des armes: mises en formes et désinformations en Europe pendant les guerres de Religion (1560–1610). Actes du colloque international, Tours, 5–7 novembre 2009* (Paris: H. Champion, 2012), pp. 295–304.

35 François de Chantelouve, *La tragédie de feu Gaspard de Colligny* ed. Keith Cameron, Textes Littéraires (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1971); for a translation, see *The Tragedy of the Late Gaspard de Coligny and The Guisiade [by Pierre Matthieu]*, trans. and ed. Richard Hillman, Carleton Renaissance Plays in Translation, 40 (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 2005). This is, I believe, a significant piece of theatre, for generic reasons among others; besides my edition, see

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Hillman, *Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France*, pp. 84–164 *passim*, and *French Origins of English Tragedy*, pp. 42–58 *passim*.

36 Marrapodi, 'Beyond the Reformation', p. 80. See also Gordon Braden, *Renaissance Tragedy and the Senecan Tradition: Anger's Privilege* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), pp. 122–3. With reference to Cinthio and Guarini, Braden persuasively proposes that 'There are good reasons for seeking a defense of tragicomedy in the deepest levels of cultural identity' (p. 123).

37 See Dewar-Watson, 'Aristotle and tragicomedy', and *Shakespeare's Poetics*, pp. 56–7.

38 Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem*, Introduction August Buck (Lyons, 1561; fac. rpt. Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: F. Frommann (Günther Holzboog), 1964), p. 145, col. A; bk. 3, chapter 97 ('Tragœdia, Comœdia').

39 Jean Vauquelin de La Fresnaye, *L'art poétique de Vauquelin de La Fresnaye: Où l'on peut remarquer la perfection et le défaut des anciennes et des modernes poésies*, ed. Georges Pellissier (Paris: Garnier, 1885), bk. 3, lines 169–70. Vauquelin de La Fresnaye's verse-treatise was not published until 1605, but it was the product of a particularly long gestation (from about 1574 to 1589) during a significant period for French tragicomedy; see Pellissier, ed., pp. xxxv–xxxvi. See also Ristine, *English Tragicomedy*, p. 55 and n. 70, and Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, p. 153.

40 The Synod of Nîmes (1572), reflecting growing antagonism to the principle of mimesis, forbade Protestants to witness theatrical representations, especially of biblical material; see Claude Longeon, 'L'image du prince dans le théâtre protestant de langue française du XVI^{e} siècle', in Bernard Yon and Arlette Gaucher (eds), *Hommes et livres de la Renaissance: choix des principaux articles publiés* (Saint-Etienne: Institut Claude Longeon, Renaissance – Age Classique, Université Jean-Monnet, 1990), pp. 93–104, 101. Nevertheless, the *Abraham sacrifiant* of Théodore de Bèze (1550) received a staging in Leiden in 1595, according to Lebègue, 'Le Répertoire d'une troupe française', p. 14, who also signals the general importance of biblical subjects in the mixed repertoires of French touring companies (pp. 10–14).

41 Thomas Garter, *The Most Virtuous and Godly Susanna (1578)*, ed. B. Ifor Evans and W. W. Greg, The Malone Society Reprints, 65 (fac. rpt.; London: Malone Society, 1937), title page facsimile (sig. A1^{r}).

42 *Ibid.*, lines 11, 9.

43 Annaliese Conolly, 'Peele's *David and Bethsabe*: reconsidering biblical drama of the long 1590s', *Early Modern Literary Studies*, special issue 16 (2007), 9.1–20, 20 (Table 1), online: http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/201/300/early_modern/html/2007/si-16/connpeel.htm (accessed 12 April 2018), lists thirteen Elizabethan biblical plays, including two based on the New Testament (*Judas* and *Pontius Pilate*). See also Louis B. Wright, 'The Scriptures and the Elizabethan stage', *Modern Philology*, 26 (1928), 47–56.

44 See *Lost Plays Database*, online, https://lostplays.folger.edu/Nebuchadnezzar (accessed 27 February 2019), and Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed.

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W. W. Greg (London: A. H. Bullen, 1904), pp. 50–1. *The History of Job* may also have existed, perhaps by Robert Greene: see *Lost Plays Database*, online, https://lostplays.folger.edu/Job,_The_History_of (accessed 27 February 2019), and Wright, 'Scriptures', p. 53; if so, there was a French precedent claiming tragicomic status: the anonymous *Tragi-comedie de Iob* staged in 1572 at Poitiers (Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, p. 176).

45 See Waldo F. McNeir, 'The Date of *A Looking Glass for London*', *Notes and Queries*, 2 (1955), 282–3, and Russell A. Fraser and Norman Rabkin (eds), Introduction, in *Drama of the English Renaissance I: The Tudor Period* (New York: Macmillan 1976), p. 383. On this text within the morality tradition, with a particular relation to Kirchmeyer, *Mercator*, and Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, see Richard Hillman, 'Faustus Face to Face with Damnation', 263–4. See also Beatrice Groves, '"They repented at the preachyng of Ionas: and beholde, a greater then Ionas is here": *A Looking Glass for London and England, Hosea and the destruction of Jerusalem*', in Streete (ed.), *Early Modern Drama and the Bible*, pp. 139–55, for an analysis in terms of 'English literary responses to Judaism' (p. 141).

46 Lodge and Greene, *A Looking Glass for London and England*, in Fraser and Rabkin (eds), *Drama of the English Renaissance*, vol. 1: The Tudor Period, V.iii.66, 72, 42, 50.

47 Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, pp. 166–8. See F. D. Hoeniger (ed.), Introduction, *Pericles*, The Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (London: Methuen, 1963), pp. xiii–xci, xci, n. 1.

48 Catherine Des Roches, *Vn acte de la Tragicomedie de Tobie*, in *Les œuures de Mesdames Des Roches de Poetiers [*sic*] mère et fille. Seconde edition, Corrigee & aumentee de la Tragi-comedie de Tobie & autres œuures poétiques* (Paris: A. L'Angelier, 1579), pp. 161–92.

49 Jacques Ovyn, *Thobie tragi-comedie nouvelle. Tiree de la S. Bible* (Rouen: Raphaël Du Petit Val, 1606); *Diverses tragedies sainctes, de plusieurs autheurs de ce temps. Recueillies par Raphael Du Petit Val* (Rouen: Raphaël Du Petit Val, 1606). (Given the great diversity of these 'tragedies', it is clear that the term here means simply 'dramatic works'.)

50 Émile Faguet, *La Tragédie française au XVI^e^ siècle (1550–1600)* (Paris: Hachette, 1883), pp. 323–5, dates Ovyn's work to 1597 and claims that it was acted by the Confrères de la Passion in Paris, but his sources are unclear, and there seems to be no trace of an edition prior to 1606. I have elsewhere, with due circumspection, proposed a tragedy on the subject of Jeanne d'Arc published by Raphaël Du Petit Val in 1600 as an intertext for *Antony and Cleopatra* (Hillman, *French Reflections*, pp. 119–22).

51 On the adaptation (which Ovyn freely acknowledged as such), see Alain Cullière, 'Le *Thobie* de Jaques Ouyn (1606)', in Alain Cullière (ed.), *Tobie sur la scène européenne à la Renaissance, suivi de* Tobie, *comédie de Catherin Le Doux (1604). Actes du colloque, Metz, 22 et 23 novembre 2013*, Recherche en Littérature et Spiritualité, 24 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 153–68.

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52 Ovyn, *Thobie tragi-comedie nouvelle*, Act V (p. 64).

53 Jean Galaut, *Phalante*, ed. Alan Howe, Textes Littéraires (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1995). The play was published in 1611 but Galaut had died in 1605, and Howe dates composition between 1598 and 1600; see Howe (ed.), Introduction, pp. xvi–xvii, and, on the possible channels of transmission, pp. xxii–xxv. As resolutely tragic as Galaut's play is, pastoral elements associated with romantic tragicomedy remain strongly present within it. See Richard Hillman, Introduction, in *Sidney's Arcadia on the French Stage: Two Renaissance Adaptations: Phalante, by Jean Galaut; The Shepherds' Court, by André Mareschal*, trans. with introduction and notes by Richard Hillman, Scène européenne – Traductions Introuvables (Tours: Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2018), pp. 15–29.

54 [Robert Greene], *Histoire tragique de Pandosto, roy de Bohême et de Bellaria, sa femme. Ensemble les amours de Dorastus et de Faunia … Le tout premièrement trad. en anglais de la langue bohême [*sic*], et de nouveau mis en françois par L. Regnault* (Paris: G. Marette, 1615); Louis Moreau Du Bail, *Le roman d'Albanie et de Sycile* (Paris: Pierre Rocolet, 1626). On the popularity of *Pandosto*, see Lori Humphrey Newcomb, *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 77–129, although her account (pp. 82–3) of the romance's French translations and adaptations is not wholly accurate.

55 The lost *Pandosto* of Hardy is mentioned in Mahelot, *Le Mémoire de Mahelot,* ed. Pasquier, and the editor proposes a date prior to 1626 (see p. 247, n. 144, and p. 249, n. 145). The adaptation of Heliodorus, whose running title includes the label 'Tragicomedie', was published in 1623 as *Les chastes et loyales amours de Théagène et Cariclée, réduites du grec de l'Histoire d'Héliodore en huict poèmes dragmatiques [*sic*] ou théâtres consécutifs, par Alexandre Hardy* (Paris: J. Quesnel, 1623), but the author's introductory 'Epistre' identifies it as a work of his youth (Hardy was born around 1570), and it is assigned to 1601 by Antoine de Léris, *Dictionnaire portatif historique et littéraire des théâtres* (Paris, 1763), p. 423. On Hardy's tragicomedies generally, see esp. Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, pp. 185–91. His dramatic production ran to perhaps seven hundred plays, according to his own – perhaps inflated – estimate; see also Ristine, *English Tragicomedy*, pp. 56–7.

56 Jean Puget de la Serre, *Pandoste ov La princesse mal-hevrevse. Tragédie en prose. Diuisee en deux Journées* (Paris: Nicolas de La Vigne, 1631). On Puget's possible knowledge of Shakespeare, see Richard Hillman, '*Et in Arcadia* alter egos: playing politics with pastoral in two French baroque dramas', in Michael Meere (ed.), *French Renaissance and Baroque Drama: Text, Performance, and Theory* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015), pp. 267–93, 274–80.

57 See Albert W. Osborn, *Sir Philip Sidney en France* (1932; fac. rpt. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), pp. 78–91.

58 Points where knowledge of the original seems implied are identified in the notes to Mareschal, *The Shepherds' Court*, ed. and trans. Hillman.

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59 See the excellent Introduction in *Les fantaisies amoureuses*, ed. Renée Sone, Bibliothèque Introuvable, 2, Lettres Modernes (Paris: Minard, 1967), pp. 5–33.

60 Jean de Schélandre, *Tyr et Sidon: ou, Les funestes amours de Belcar et Méliane: tragédie,* in Joseph W. Barker (ed.), *Tyr et Sidon: ou, Les funestes amours de Belcar et Méliane: tragédie, et Tyr et Sidon: tragicomédie divisée en deux journées* (Paris: A. G. Nizet, 1974). The Introduction by Barker (pp. 9–42) provides a good overview of Schélandre's life and literary production.

61 Richard Hillman, 'Setting Scottish history straight: *La Stuartide* of Jean de Schélandre as corrective of *Macbeth*', *Modern Language Review*, 113 (2018), 289–306.

62 Hence, e.g., the fundamental inconclusivness of the broader conjectures of Claire-Éliane Engel, 'Connaissait-on le théâtre anglais en France au XVII^{e} siècle?', *XVII^{e} siècle, Bulletin de la Société d'étude du XVII^{e} siècle*, 48 (1960), 1–15. Engel also highlights (pp. 6–8) a few textual parallels between Shakespeare and Schélandre and evokes (p. 4) the latter's presence for a time in the aristocratic London milieu.

63 Barker (ed.), Introduction, *Tyr et Sidon*, pp. 30–3. The extent to which such theatre was popular in France is evident from a fascinating notice supplied for the 1628 issue of the tragicomedy by the printer, Robert Estienne, who explains that, because the length, expense and occasional risqué quality of the play, intended for a professional troupe, might deter 'ceux qui s'en voudroient donner le plaisir en des maisons particulières' (those who might wish to give themselves the pleasure of it in private houses) (cited by Barker, ed., p. 162), he has asked the playwright to sketch out an abridged version. This he prints (pp. 163–4), followed by the statement that ten or twelve actors can easily play the twenty-three roles required. Cf. above Chapter 2, pp. 56 and 78–9, n. 178.

64 See Hillman, '*Et in Arcadia* alter egos', *passim*.

65 Joachim Bernier de la Brousse, Les hevrevses infortvnes. Trage-comédie, in *Œuvres poétiques du sieur Bernier de la Brousse* (Poitiers: Julian Thoreau, 1618), fos 276^{r}–330^{r}.

66 *Ibid.*, fol. 275^{r}.

67 Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry*, p. 134.

68 The precedent of the highly Catholic Belleforest renders problematic, in my view, the argument of Tiffany Jo Werth, *The Fabulous Dark Cloister: Romance in England after the Reformation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), pp. 80–96, that the paganising in *Pericles* should be seen as a 'conscientious effort' (p. 97) to sidestep the Roman Catholic associations of the miraculous. The dramatists might have chosen, moreover, to follow the aggressively Protestant elaboration of the miraculous effected by Laurence Twyne in *The patterne of painefull aduentures* (to be discussed below), whose version Werth does not take fully into account.

69 Bernier, *Les hevrevses infortvnes*, fol. 325^{r}.

70 The importance of that model is an elusive but broadly attractive thesis of Hoeniger (ed.), Introduction, pp. lxxxviii–xci; see also Mimi Still Dixon,

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'Tragicomic recognitions: medieval miracles and Shakespearean romance', in Nancy Klein Maguire (ed.), *Renaissance Tragicomedy: Explorations in Genre and Politics* (New York: AMS Press, 1987), pp. 56–79. Also pertinent to the evolution of the genre, though less directly, is Katherine A. Gillen, 'Authorial anxieties and theatrical instability: John Bale's biblical plays and Shakespeare and Wilkin's *Pericles*', in James D. Mardock and Kathryn R. McPherson (eds), *Stages of Engagement: Drama and Religion in Post-Reformation England* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2014), pp. 171–93.

71 There is general agreement that the 'novel' of George Wilkins, *The painfull aduentures of Pericles prince of Tyre Being the true history of the play of Pericles, as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient poet Iohn Gower* (London: T. P[urfoot] for Nathaniel Butter, 1608), while published the year before the quarto of *Pericles* appeared in print, derives from a combination of Twyne with reminiscence of the theatrical performance. I have not found it useful to include the work systematically in the present discussion.

72 On the widely recognised borrowings from Twyne, see especially Hoeniger (ed.), Introduction, p. xvi, and Roger Warren (ed.), Introduction, *A Reconstructed Text of Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, by William Shakespeare and George Wilkins, ed. on the basis of a text prepared by Gary Taylor and Macd. P. Jackson, The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 1–80, 14–16. The edition of Twyne to be cited here is *The patterne of painefull aduentures. Containing the most excellent, pleasant and variable historie of the strange accidents that befell vnto Prince Apollonius, the Lady Lucina his wife, and Tharsia his daughter, etc.* (London: Valentine Simmes, 1607).

73 Belleforest's redaction is generally dismissed as irrelevant to the play. No dissent is recorded from Hoeniger's categorical declaration: 'no trace of influence can be found' (Introduction, p. xvii). Elizabeth Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre, Medieval and Renaissance Themes and Variations: Including the Text of the 'Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri' with an English Translation* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991), mentions Belleforest's as a version that the author(s) of *Pericles* may have known (p. 214) but does not elaborate.

74 The earliest surviving redaction is in Latin and probably dates from the fifth or sixth century; see the erudite summary of Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 6–9, whose account of the circulation of the romance's variant forms is highly valuable, even if many points necessarily remain uncertain. One can agree broadly with Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), that, by Shakespeare's time, '[t]he story had changed remarkably little over the millennium of its existence' (p. 268), even while finding some of the variations significant.

75 On the versions that Gower was – and claimed to be – adapting (notably the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo), see G. C. Macaulay (ed.), *The English Works of John Gower*, 2 vols, Early English Text Society Extra Series (London: Oxford

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University Press for the E.E.T.S., 1900), vol. 2, pp. 536–8; cf. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 192–3. Macaulay's edition is used throughout for citations from *Confessio Amantis*.

76 Twyne's heavily Christian treatment may be linked to at least one narrative innovation: he makes Apollonius merciful in pardoning, indeed rewarding, the pirates who had seized (but thereby saved) his daughter. Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, suspects in this the 'Elizabethan admiration for adventurous opportunism' (p. 206), but in comparing the sympathetic treatment of the outlaws in *TGV*, she perhaps more pertinently touches on the question of genre: Twyne pushes the ending in the direction of comic inclusiveness, as Shakespeare, among others, practised it.

77 Hoeniger (ed.), Introduction, p. xvi, n. 2, allows for the possible influence of some other version of the *Gesta*, as does Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 214.

78 The precise sources of Belleforest have not been identified. See Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, who summarises his version as 'notable both for its strong interest in psychological realism, especially in the love scenes, and for its emphasis on classical details' (p. 208).

79 The point is extensively documented by René Pruvost, *Matteo Bandello and Elizabethan Fiction*, Bibliothèque de la Revue de littérature comparée, 113 (Paris: H. Champion, 1937), whose meticulous survey amounts, as he states, to 'a study … of a French rather than of an Italian influence' (p. 5).

80 Michel Simonin, *Vivre de sa plume au XVI^e siècle, ou, La carrière de François de Belleforest*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance (Geneva: Droz, 1992), p. 218.

81 See the discussion of Harold Jenkins (ed.), *Hamlet*, The Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (London: Methuen, 1982), pp. 89–96, who concludes that the question is unanswerable (p. 96). Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor (eds), *Hamlet: The Texts of 1603 and 1623*, The Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), pp. 66–77, remain cautious (Shakespeare 'may possibly have read', 'may have known', 'may have read Belleforest in French'). Margreta de Grazia, Hamlet *without Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), prefers to conjecture that he read the English translation of Belleforest's story, 'circulated in manuscript before its printing in 1608' (p. 51). By contrast, Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), is unequivocal: 'This French collection, used by many English writers in the late sixteenth century, was undoubtedly Shakespeare's principal source' (p. 187).

82 Hillman, *French Reflections*, pp. 54–80.

83 See Warren (ed.), Introduction, pp. 7–8 (citation p. 8). See also Gossett (ed.), Introduction, pp. 54–70. Since the turn of the century, proposals concerning the participation of Wilkins have become at once increasingly emphatic and more scientifically sophisticated – witness MacDonald P. Jackson, *Defining Shakespeare: Pericles as Test-Case* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), and Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author: A Historical Study of Five Collaborative Plays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 291–332. Cf. the largely conjectural evocation of Shakespeare's association with Wilkins by Katherine Duncan-Jones,

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Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from his Life (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2001), pp. 205–13.

84 More definite dating is impossible; as Hoeniger (ed.), Introduction, points out (p. xvi, n. 2), the 1607 reedition of Twyne's novel may have been either a stimulus or a response to the creation of *Pericles*.

85 Ben Jonson, 'Ode to himselfe', in C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson and Evelyn Simpson (eds), *Ben Jonson*, 11 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925–52), vol. 6, pp. 492–4, line 21.

86 See Simonin, *Vivre de sa plume*, esp. pp. 216–18, 283–4, 312. Not all the editions purporting to be of volume 7 contain the Apollonius story. Except as otherwise indicated, I will be citing *Histoires tragiqves, … Contenant plusieurs choses dignes de memoire, de ce qui s'est passé, & de nostre temps, mises en lumière, par François de Belle-Forest … Tome septiesme* (Rouen: Adrian de Launay, 1604), 'Histoire cxviij' (pp. 109–206), as the latest edition available at the time of the play's composition; it is listed as no. 274 in the bibliography compiled by Simonin, *Vivre de sa plume*.

87 See Richard Hillman, 'Criminalizing the woman's incest: *Pericles* and its analogues', in Richard Hillman and Pauline Ruberry-Blanc (eds), *Female Transgression in Early Modern Britain: Literary and Historical Explorations* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 15–28, 22–4. Explored there, as well, are the implications of the suppression in *Pericles* of the standard presentation of the daughter's rape.

88 As documented in the bibliography of Simonin, *Vivre de sa plume*, p. 296 (no. 246).

89 François de Belleforest, 'Epistre', in *Le septiesme tome des histoires tragiqves, contenant plusieurs choses dignes de memoire, & diuers succes d'affaires, & euenements, qui seruent à l'instruction de nostre vie: le tout recuilly de ce qui s'est passé, & iadis, & de nostre temps, etc.* (Paris: Emmanuel Richard, 1583), sig. ãv^{r}. This edition is cited for the preliminary matter (online at Gallica, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1103460; accessed 5 February 2019). On the circumstances of the dedication, see Simonin, *Vivre de sa plume,* pp. 216–17.

90 Belleforest (1583), 'Epistre', sig. ãiij^{r} (erroneously ãij^{r}).

91 *Ibid.*, title page. The reference to moral instruction is also absent from the title of the 1604 ed.

92 *Ibid.*, 'Epistre', sig. ãiij^{r} (erroneously ãij^{r}).

93 *Ibid.*, sig. ãv^{r}.

94 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiques … Tome septiesme* (1604), pp. 110–11.

95 Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, sig. M^{v} (chapter 24); cf. *Gesta Romanorum* (Louvain: John of Westphalia, *c.* 1473–80), sig. cc^{v}, and one of its French versions, *Le violier des histoires romaines: ancienne traduction françoise des* Gesta Romanorum, ed. G. Brunet (Paris: P. Jannet, 1858), p. 363 (chapter 125).

96 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiques … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 112.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 205.

98 *Ibid.*, pp. 205–6.

99 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

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100 *Ibid.*, p. 206.

101 Cf. F. D. Hoeniger, 'Gower and Shakespeare in *Pericles*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 33 (1982), 461–79, on the choric Gower's 'quaint humor' (p. 464) here and, more generally, on 'the perspective that is his own, quaint in its oldfashionedness and simplicity, stodgy yet charming' (p. 467). Hoeniger has been taken to task for retracting, in this article, the idea of collaboration endorsed in his edition, but his argument for the choric Gower as a substantially coherent character is true to stage experience; cf., notably, Vickers, *Shakespeare, Co-Author*, pp. 317–18, whose insistence on Wilkins's contribution tends to obscure this point.

102 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiques … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 112.

103 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

105 *Ibid.*, p. 183. Given the recurrent variants on 'perils', Belleforest's narrative may be added to the considerable list of possible sources compiled over the years to explain the name 'Pericles'; see Gossett (ed.), Introduction, p. 168; Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 215; and J. M. S. Tompkins, 'Why Pericles?', *Review of English Studies*, 3 (1952), 315–24, 322–4. Other proposals range from the Athenian statesman to Sidney's Pyrocles from the *Arcadia* (Warren (ed.), Introduction, pp. 17–18) and include one French version in which Apollonius terms himself 'Perillie' – this possibility raised by Hoeniger (ed.), *Pericles*, p. 3 (n. to *Dramatis Personae*), who proposes that in any case Latin *periculum* coloured Shakespeare's thinking.

Hoeniger (ed.) also mentions (Introduction, p. xvii) that the Latin verse redaction of Jakob Falckenburg may not be irrelevant to the play (*Iacobi à Falckenburgk, Saxonis Brandeburgi, Britannia, siue De Apollonica humilitatis, virtutis, et honoris porta; in qua, veluti vitae theatridio, praeter innumeros fortunae labyrinthos, in afflictorum solatium, maximè amplificatur bonitatis diuinae, ad gloriam ipsam atque salutarem perducentis, encomium, libri 4* (London: Typis Richardi Graphei [i.e. R. Schilders], 1578)). He apparently did not notice, however, that this work's verse-dedication (to the Queen, Leicester and Burleigh) speaks of all human beings as living exposed 'ter mille periclis' (to three thousand perils) (line 3 [sig. Aij^{r}]), and that the sound-alike contracted dative plural of *periculum* recurs in the hero's climactic recital in the temple: 'Sic pater omnipotens, quam non spera[v]erat horam, / Mens mea, nonnumeris immisit ab axe periclis' (Thus the Father omnipotent intermingled my time, as I had not expected, with many dangers from heaven) (sig. F^{r}). On this hybrid narrative, see Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 203–5.

106 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiques … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 134.

107 Technical analysis of the choruses in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers* (on which Wilkins collaborated with John Day and William Rowley) doubtless helps to define 'the non-Shakespearian part of the play', as Vickers maintains, and supports its attribution to Wilkins, but to state that '[t]he *Travels* uses a Chorus or presenter who has a very similar role to Gower in *Pericles*' (Vickers, *Shakespeare,*

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Co-Author, p. 318) blurs the former's closer resemblance to the character-less dramatic functionary of *Henry V*. By contrast, even the putatively 'non-Shakespearian' Chorus introducing V.ii of *Per.* is personalised, poetically evocative and integrated into the thematic design in a way reminiscent of Prospero's Epilogue in *Tmp.*:

> Now our sands are almost run,
> More a little, and then dumb.
> This, my last boon, give me,
> For such kindness must relieve me:
> …
> In feather'd briefness sails are fill'd,
> And wishes fall out as they're will'd.
> (*Per.*, V.ii.1–4, 15–16)

A balanced comparison of nearly contemporary dramatic choruses, including that of Barnes' *The Devil's Charter* (1607), which is delivered in the persona of the historian Guicciardini, is provided by Gossett (ed.), Introduction, pp. 76–8.

108 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiques … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 113.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 111.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

111 It is noteworthy that reeditions of this romance, as rendered by Amyot, the preeminent Greek translator of the previous generation, had also begun, at least by 1570, to invoke the authority of ancientness as such: *L'histoire æthiopiqve de Héliodore, contenant dix livres, traictant des loyalles et pudiques amours de Théagènes Thessalien et Chariclea Ethiopienne, traduite de grec en françois, reveüe, corrigée et augmentée sur un ancien exemplaire, escrit à la main par le translateur, où est déclaré au vray qui en a esté le premier autheur* (The Ethiopian history of Heliodorus, containing ten books presenting the faithful and modest love of Theagenes of Thessales and Chariclea of Ethiopia, rendered from Greek into French, revised, corrected and supplemented from an ancient copy written by hand by the translator, where it is stated truthfully who was the original author). (I cite the 1584 Lyons edition of H. Gazeau.)

112 Samuel L. Wolff, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, Burt Franklin Research and Source Work Series, 22 (1912; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1961), p. 183; see also Arthur R. Heiserman, *The Novel before the Novel: Essays and Discussions about the Beginnings of Prose Fiction in the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), pp. 194–8.

113 Heliodorus, of Emesa, *L'histoire aethiopique*, p. 583.

114 Heliodorus, of Emesa, *An Æthiopian historie, fyrst written in Greeke by Heliodorus, and translated into English, by T. V., etc.*, trans. Thomas Underdowne (London: W. Cotton, 1605), fol. 151$^{r\text{-}v}$. I cite the first seventeenth-century issue; the fact that the previous edition dates from 1577 suggests the renewed vogue for such material around the time of Shakespeare's tragicomedies.

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115 Cf. Hoeniger, 'Gower and Shakespeare in *Pericles*', esp. pp. 468–9 on the Chorus's moralising and its echoes in the dialogue.

116 See Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 87–92.

117 The centrality of patience in the play has often been emphasised, at least since Tompkins, 'Why Pericles?', who, however, drew a contrast on this point with Twyne and Gower, 'the versions of the story most accessible to Shakespeare' (p. 320). Curiously, among the analogues I have examined, that of *Le violier* stands out for making patience, literally, the hero's saving grace when he expires in his old age: 'mourut plain de bonnes œuvres, si qu'il fut saulvé, comme il est à croyre, par les vertus qu'il eut et la patience, qui ne fut pas moindre que martire' (he died full of good works, so that he was saved, one must believe, by the virtues that he possessed and by his patience, which was no less than his suffering) (ed. Brunet, p. 363). Cf. Falckenburg, *Britannia, siue De Apollonica humilitatis, virtutis, et honoris porta*, sig. F3^{r}: 'Sis patiens, virtutis amans, honor vltrò sequetur' (Be patient, lover of virtue; honour will follow naturally).

118 See above, p. 154.

119 On the interdependence of human wisdom and supernatural response in the *Aethiopica*, see Heiserman, *The Novel before the Novel*, pp. 195–202.

120 Thus the temple is as often termed a 'church', where the hero's wife (Lucina) is 'executing the office' (Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, sig. K3^{r} (chapter 20)) as one of the 'religious Nunnes' (sig. K2^{r} (chapter 19)); the discovery elicits prayerful effusion: 'Blessed be the most mighty God of heauen …' (sig. K3^{v} (chapter 20)). See also below, p. 179.

121 Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 8.1789.

122 Achilles Tatius, *Achillis Statii Alexandrini De Clitophontis & Leucippes amorib. Libri VIII. E Græcis Latini facti à L. Annibale Cruceio* (Cambridge: John Legat, 1589); *The most delectable and pleasaunt history of Clitiphon and Leucippe: written first in Greeke, by Achilles Statius, an Alexandrian: and now newly translated into English, etc.* (London: Thomas Creede for William Mattes, 1597).

123 Achilles Tatius, *Les amours de Clitophon et de Leucippe, escrits jadis en grec par Achilles Statius Alexandrin, et depuis mis en latin par L. Annibal Italien, et nouvellement traduits en langage françois par B. [*Belleforest*] Comingeois* (Paris: J. Borel, 1575), fol. 134^{v}.

124 Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, sigs K2^{r}, K2^{v} (chapter 19).

125 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 198.

126 *Ibid.*

127 *Ibid.*

128 The play's choice of the term 'cunning', though common for natural (and supernatural) art and skill, may well be influenced by Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, who uses it three times for the daughter's learning and ability in music, twice in chapter 14 (sig. H^{r}), lastly in chapter 17, when she deploys her 'cunning and knowledge' for her unknown father (sig. H4^{v}). Cerimon's speech also

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resonates in an ironic way with Twyne's comment that, when Apollonius arrived at the appointed end of his long and finally happy life, 'the knowledge of his physitions could stand him in little steed, either by their cunning or experience' (sig. M2^{r} (chapter 24)).

129 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 111 (my emphasis).

130 The hero's extraordinary musical talent is praised by Simonides (*Per.*, II.v.25–30) and is thematically important; it not only resonates with the skills of Marina and the music of the spheres but pointedly clashes with the abused 'fair viol' (I.i.81) of Antioch: 'Hell only danceth at so harsh a chime' (85). It does not seem actually to be displayed within the text, however, and since there is some confusion in Wilkins's novel on the point, as is observed by Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 75 and 75, n. 24, one might surmise that the actor in the original production lacked the requisite skills.

131 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), pp. 199–200 (my emphasis).

132 *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, ed. Gareth Schmeling, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: B. J. Teubner, 1988), p. 49 [redaction B]). Unless otherwise indicated, I cite Schmeling's edition, in which the three principal redactions are printed (distinguished as A, B and C). For the equivalent in Archibald (ed.), *Apollonius of Tyre,* see p. 174. Cf. *Gesta Romanorum* (*c.* 1473–80): 'non causa libidinis sed sapientie' (chapter 153, sig. bb5^{v}).

133 Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, sig. K3^{v} (chapter 20).

134 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 114.

135 *Ibid.*

136 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

137 On Apollonius' traditional innocence, see Archibald, *Apollonius of Tyre*, pp. 90–1; cf. Tompkins, 'Why Pericles?', pp. 316–17.

138 Cf. Heiserman, *The Novel before the Novel*, p. 216.

139 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 122.

140 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

141 Shakespeare generally endowed it with such overtones: 'Am I politic? Am I subtle? Am I a Machivel?' (III.i.101), crows the Host in *Wiv.*; Aufidius ominously pronounces his adversary 'bolder' than the devil, 'though not so subtle' (*Cor.*, I.11.17). The term may have been less highly charged in French; the early French versions of Gen. 3:1 describe the serpent as 'cauteleux' or 'fin'.

142 *Le violier,* ed. Brunet, p. 327.

143 *Narratio eorum que contigerunt Apollonio Tyrio, ex membranis vetustis*, ed. Marcus Welser (Augsburg: Augustae Vindelicorum, 1595), sig. A4^{r}. Cf. Schmeling (ed.), *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*, redactions B and C, chapter 4 (pp. 46, 85), and Archibald (ed.), *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 114, n. 5. Welser's preface bills the work as 'Historia Apollonii sapientissimi & fortissimi viri' (The story of Apollonius, a most wise and strong man) (sig. A2^{r}).

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144 *Gesta Romanorum* (*c.* 1473–80), sig. aa^{v}.
145 *Le violier*, ed. Brunet, p. 327.
146 Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, sig. B2^{v} (chapter 21).
147 *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Brunet, sig. aa^{v}. There is precedent in the older tradition – see, e.g., Archibald (ed.), *Apollonius of Tyre*, p. 114. The Latin remains ambiguous as to the divinity in question.
148 Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 8.374–9, 390–3.
149 *Ibid.*, 8.2004–5, 1994–5.
150 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 120.
151 *Ibid.*, p. 121.
152 *Ibid.*, p. 124. Related English sayings, according to Hoeniger, ed., n. to I.ii.9, probably derive from Ovid, *Heroïdes*, 17.166, 'An nescis longas regibus esse manus?' (Who does not know that king's hands have a long reach?), which Belleforest is obviously citing.
153 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 183.
154 *Ibid.*, p. 188.
155 *Ibid.*, pp. 109–11.
156 Robert Greene, *Pandosto: The Triumph of Time*, in J. H. Pafford (ed.), *The Winter's Tale*, The Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (London: Methuen, 1963), pp. 234–74, 274.
157 See Wolff, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Fiction*, pp. 410–11.
158 Dewar-Watson, *Shakespeare's Poetics*, p. 67, proposes as a source for the name in Shakespeare the double use of the verb 'perdo' in the Latin translation of Euripides' *Alcestis* by George Buchanan (1565), but the verbal and situational contexts are comparatively remote. (She also finds a verbal anticipation of Hermione's statue in Buchanan's 'statura', but the word means 'stature' or 'height'.)
159 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 196.
160 See Hoeniger (ed.), *Pericles*, p. 4, n. to *Dramatis Personae*, who cites the precedent of Saint Marina, the virgin martyr of Antioch.
161 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 196.
162 I have found it in only one other version – the Latin of Falckenburg, *Britannia, siue De Apollonica humilitatis, virtutis, et honoris porta*, sig. E6^{v}: 'Ipse ego APOLLONIUS genitor tuus' (I myself am Apollonius, your father). There, however, it serves to condense the narrative rather than to heighten the impact of the revelation.
163 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 194 (italics in the origiinal).
164 The play diverges markedly from the Puritan-laced piety of Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, who provides the daughter with a common-measure song in which, after blandly expressing the wish that she might know her parents ('Were nothing pleasanter …'), she declares that her hope lies in God – 'I hope that God may mend my state / And send a better day' – and recommends the same remedy for him:

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> Leaue off your teares, plucke vp your heart
> and banish care away.
> Shew gladnesse in your countenaunce,
> cast vp your cheerefull eyes.
> That God remaines that once of nought,
> created earth and skies.
> He will not let in care and thought
> you still to liue, and all for nought.
> (sig. H4^{v}–I^{r} (chapter 17))

Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, gives none of Taise's lyrics but merely reports that 'sche harpeth many a lay / And lich an Angel sang withal' (8.1670–1).

165 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), pp. 194–5.

166 Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 8.1710–11. Meanwhile, the father is drawn to the daughter without knowing why, but the latter takes little initiative and makes no plea until she protests against his blow, at which point she is inspired to recount her history, hitherto concealed.

167 Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, sig. I2^{v} (chapter 17).

168 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 195.

169 Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 8.1847–69. Cf. Hoeniger, 'Gower and Shakespeare in *Pericles*', p. 466, who attributes the episode's 'notable perfunctoriness' to the precedent of 'Gower's original narrative'.

170 Thus, *pace* Cooper, *The English Romance in Time*, pp. 267–8, the sexual dimension of the wife's response is not added by Shakespeare but moderated by comparison with other versions. The impetuous physicality of Gower's heroine is quite unchecked: 'Sche knew the vois and the visage, / For pure joie as in a rage / Sche strawhte unto him al at ones' (*Confessio Amantis*, 8.1851–3). As for Twyne's, her self-restraint is precarious, her passion unequivocally physical and finally irrepressible:

> her heart burned within her, and shee could scarce temper her affections vntill he had done talking. Yet, measuring her loue with modesty, as now of long time hauing learned the true trade of patience, shee gaue him libertie to make an end. Which done, shee ran hastily vnto him, and embraced him hard in her armes, and would haue kissed him. (*The patterne of painefull aduentures*, sig. K3^{r-v} (chapter 20))

Cooper's claim for the play's version as involving 'perhaps the most extended staging of loving physical contact required in the whole Shakespeare canon' (p. 482) also appears questionable.

171 The repulse is a recurrent triggering device for recognition in the romance tradition, but would obviously have made for anticlimactic repetition in the play, given Pericles' previous rebuff of Marina. For its use in *Cymbeline*, probably by way of Underdowne's translation of Heliodorus, see J. M. Nosworthy (ed.), *Cymbeline*, The Arden Shakespeare, 2nd ser. (London: Methuen 1969), n. to V.v.228–9.

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172 Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, sig. K3^{v} (chapter 20).
173 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 199.
174 *Ibid.*
175 The modern spelling, of course, is 'compte', but Belleforest's reveals the etymological identity with 'conte' (tale); cf. his concluding apology for 'vn si long conte'(such a long tale) (p. 205). English 'tale' and 'tell' can also refer to counting or reckoning (including, traditionally, sheep) – see *OED* Online – and, especially given the summer sheep-shearing of *WT*, one might suppose this secondary sense to have been alive in Shakespeare's title for original audiences.
176 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), p. 200.
177 *Ibid.*, p. 201.
178 *Ibid.*, p. 200.
179 *Ibid.*, p. 201.
180 *Ibid.*, p. 199.
181 Cf. *WT*, I.ii;80, 100, 105; II.i.122; V.iii.122. In *Pericles*, the word, which Shakespeare might actually have chosen to pick up either from Gower or Twyne at the moment of reunion between husband and wife, is deployed, in varying forms, chiefly to reinforce the distinction between the false and true beauty of, respectively, Antiochus' daughter (I.Cho.24, I.i.13) and Marina (III.iii.40, IV.Cho.9, 36). The two recognised sources employ the word in quite different ways: Gower applies his Christian perspective in reporting that Apollonius' wife was present in Diana's temple to hear his story, 'as it was goddes grace' (*Confessio Amantis*, 8.1847); Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, has Apollonius noting her, before he recognises her, for her 'modesty and good grace' (sig. K3^{v} (chapter 20)).
182 Belleforest, *Histoires tragiqves … Tome septiesme* (1604), pp. 200–1.
183 Cf. Twyne, *The patterne of painefull aduentures*, sigs K3^{v}–K4^{r} (chapter 20):

> lifting vp his handes and eyes to heauen, hee saide: Blessed be the most mighty God of heauen, which dooth sitte aboue, and beholdeth the state of men vppon earth, and dealeth with them according to his great mercie: who nowe also of his vnspeakeable goodnesse, hath restored vnto mee, my wife and my daughter. Then didde hee most louingly embrace and kisse his Lady, whom hee supposed long before to be dead: and she likewise requited him with the like fruites of good will and courtesie, whome she surely thought she shoulde neuer haue seene againe.

184 The most extensive exploration of the Pygmalion motif in Renaissance culture, with attention to its philosophical implications and emphasis on its Italian affiliation, is probably by Leonard Barkan, 'Living sculptures: Ovid, Michelangelo and *The Winter's Tale*', *ELH* 48 (1981), 639–67. Modern applications of the Alcestis analogue range from Martin Mueller, 'Hermione's wrinkles, or, Ovid transformed: an essay on *The Winter's Tale*', *Comparative Drama*, 5 (1971), 226–39, to Dewar-Watson, *Shakespeare's Poetics*, pp. 63–7.

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185 Montaigne, *Essais,* bk. 2, chapter 35, p. 744B; trans. Florio, vol. 2, p. 474.
186 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 2, chapter 35, p. 749A; trans. Florio, vol. 2, p. 481.
187 *Ibid.*
188 Florio's additional phrase at this point – 'and if possibly it could be, to save her life' – highlights her nearly miraculous return from death.
189 Montaigne, *Essais*, p. 749A; trans. Florio, vol. 2, p. 480.
190 The passing verbal parallel with Shakespeare's Paulina after the awakening is nonetheless striking: 'That she is living, / Were it but told you, should be hooted at / Like an old tale' (*WT*, V.iii.115–17). One may also compare Leontes' address to her at the beginning of the scene – 'O grave and good Paulina, the great comfort / That I have had of thee!' (1–2) – with the exclamation of Seneca, moved by his wife's resolution to die with him: 'Oh my deare *Paulina*!' (trans. Florio, vol. 2, p. 479). This affectingly personal – and dramatic – touch is Florio's addition (cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 2, chapter 35, p. 748A), one of several verbal details which tend to inflect Montaigne's edifying narrative in a tragicomic direction, superimposing, in a sense, the myth of Alcestis. (See also above, p. 183, n. 188.)
191 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 2, chapter 35, p. 749A; trans. Florio, vol. 2, pp. 480–1.
192 See *OED* Online, *s.v.*, and cf. Richard II's ultimate tragic realisation: 'I wasted time, and now doth time waste me' (*R2*, V.v.49).
193 The point has often been made; for my development of it, see Hillman, *French Reflections*, pp. 14–22.
194 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 2, chapter 20, p. 674B; trans. Florio, vol. 2, p. 400 (original italics).
195 *Ibid.* Florio's 1603 folio and subsequent editions read 'last' for 'lost', which I take to be a typographical error, given Montaigne's 'perdus'.
196 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 3, chapter 13, p. 1065B; trans. Florio, vol. 3, p. 322 (original emphasis).
197 *Ibid.*
198 In English, 'As like as one egg to another'; see R. W. Dent, *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 99, E6. Montaigne states that the proverb exists in Greek and Latin as well as French.
199 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk 3, chapter 13, p. 1065B; trans. Florio, vol. 3, p. 322.
200 *Ibid.*
201 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 2, chapter 12, p. 604C; trans. Florio, vol. 2, p. 326.
202 *Ibid.*
203 See Villey and Saulnier (eds), p. 604, n. 4, and p. 1295, n. 1 to p. 604.
204 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 2, chapter 20, p. 675B; trans. Florio, vol. 2, p. 401.
205 *Mucedorus,* in C. F. Tucker Brooke (ed.), *The Shakespeare Apocrypha: Being a Collection of Fourteen Plays which have been Ascribed to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), V.ii.26–7. Mouse notably mistakes the promise to make him a 'knight' (22) for a threat to make him a 'spright': 'How a spright? no, by ladie, I will not be a spright. Maisters, get ye away; if I be a spright, I shall be so leane I shall make you all afraide' (23–5). The exorcising of 'sprites', such as Mamillius

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inadvertently conjures in playfully seeking to 'fright' Hermione (*WT*, II.i.25 ff.), thereby joins the neutralising of bears in reinforcing tragicomic transformation.

206 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 3, chapter 5, p. 851C; trans. Florio, vol. 3, p. 74 (italics in the original).

207 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 3, chapter 5, 851A; trans. Florio, vol. 3, pp. 73–4.

208 Cf. the intertextual resonances of the same essay in *MND*, as previously discussed (Chapter 2, pp. 37–8).

209 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 3, chapter 5, p. 851B; trans. Florio, vol. 3, p. 74.

210 Montaigne, *Essais*, bk. 2, chapter 12, p. 527B; trans. Florio, vol. 2, p. 234.

211 Herrick, *Tragicomedy*, p. 249, for whom *Cymbeline*, too, is 'a tragedy with a happy ending' (p. 258).

212 See Kirsch, *Jacobean Dramatic Perspectives*, p. 73, and his associated argument, pp. 64–74, as well as Nosworthy (ed.), Introduction, pp. xi–lxxxiii, who aptly applies the term 'regenerative' (p. xlvi) but for whom the play falls short of the 'tragi-comic fusion requisite to romance' (p. l).

213 Nosworthy (ed.), Introduction, p. xiii; Martin Butler (ed.), Introduction, *Cymbeline*, The New Cambridge Shakespeare (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 1–74, 17.

214 Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, line 2967.

215 Lois Potter (ed.), Introduction, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, The Arden Shakespeare, 3rd ser. (London: Thomson Learning, 1997), pp. 1–129, 2.

216 See above, Chapter 2, pp. 51–3.

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